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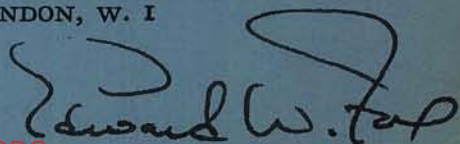
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Herodotus and His Profession

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

POETRY is more philosophical and more worth-while than history, for poetry speaks in general terms, while history concerns itself with detail [*Τὰ καθ' ἑκάστων λέγει*]."¹ This Aristotelian pronouncement is valuable because it is offered so casually, not as a novelty but as something to be accepted without discussion. The great master of logic, who, when necessary, could bring such effective arguments to bear on a disputed point, contents himself here with mere assertion. The antipathy, or at least the divergence, of philosopher and historian was no new thing in Aristotle's day. Isocrates, the long-lived publicist and rhetorician,² though not a historian himself was intimately connected with the development of historiography through his experiments in biography³ and through his influence on Ephorus and Theopompus.⁴ The

¹ Arist. *Poet.* 9, p. 1451b.

² Even though we need not accept Pseudo-Lucian's story that he died during his one hundredth year after hearing about Chaeronea (*Macrob.* 23), he is believed to have reached the ripe age of ninety-seven (J. F. Dobson, *The Greek Orators* [London, 1919], p. 126).

³ See Duane Stuart, *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* (Berkeley, 1928), chap. iv.

⁴ See Gilbert Murray, *Greek Studies* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 150 ff.; and Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, II A, no. 70, T 1-2; II B, no. 115, T 1, 5a.

tradition of his feud with Plato may well be a late fiction,⁵ but if so it is at least a plausible one.⁶ The same may be said of relations between the Sicilian historian Philistus and the Academy.⁷ It is noteworthy that Plato's writings show little interest in history or historians.⁸ Xenophon, it is true, forms a connecting link between the two disciplines, but Xenophon was something of an anachronism. In an age of growing specialization he retained a gentlemanly amateur interest in a great variety of subjects, on all of which he wrote pleasantly if not profoundly.⁹

The separation between philosophy and history is, then, a recognized fact in the fourth century. With philosophy held in highest esteem in that period, it was natural for the pronouncements of a philosopher on the other disciplines to be generally accepted. The historians, too busy or too indifferent to investigate the origins of their own profession, abandoned the field to philosophers and rhetoricians. It is the purpose of this paper to reopen the question of how historical writing, as we understand it, and as the Greeks understood it, began. The following working definition of history may help to clarify what it is we are looking for. We may speak of it very broadly as: *an orderly account of past events and of the people who participated in them, with a reasoned explanation of why things happened as they did.* Such a narrative can be written only if the historian has at his disposal a reliable tradition from which he can obtain the necessary groundwork of fact, and also only if his critical sense has been developed to the point where he can test the values of conflicting testimony. Pre-Greek historical writing is often very useful, but it suffers from the limitations of all apologetic literature; the narrative is composed primarily to enhance the prestige of king, priest, or deity, not to satisfy the intellectual curiosity of the historian or his readers.¹⁰

⁵ Cf. Theodor Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, II (Berlin and Leipzig, 1925), 331 ff.; and Guy C. Field, *Plato and His Contemporaries*, 2d ed. (London, 1948), pp. 32 ff.

⁶ For Theopompus' bad relations with the Academy, see Jacoby, *FGrH*, II B, no. 115, T 7.

⁷ See *FGrH*, III B, no. 556, T 5c. The editor shows his skepticism by printing this in small type.

⁸ Schmid's statement that this indifference to history applies to all philosophers before Aristotle is too sweeping. See Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, 1⁷ (Munich, 1929), p. 690.

⁹ It would be hard to say which of the two great men who influenced him he understood less well—Socrates, whose reputation he damaged by attempting to defend it, or Thucydides, whose reputation he enhanced by continuing his history.

¹⁰ The famous Behistun inscription can be used to correct Herodotus, whose information was at fault (see G. B. Gray, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 173), but the object for which it was written was to glorify the achievements of Darius. The Egyptian account of the battle of Kadesh is an excellent example of distortion. A defeat in which disaster was narrowly averted is represented as a resounding victory and a personal triumph for the pharaoh, Ramses II (see John A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt* [Chicago, 1951], pp. 245–47; for other examples see Breasted, in *CAH*, II, 177). The Egyptian conceptions of "truth" and "justice" were developed from Ma'at, a goddess whose temple was literally in the mouth of the pharaoh (see H. Frankfort and others, *Before Philosophy*, republished for Penguin Books, 1949, p. 22). While these

The impulse to get at the truth showed itself earlier in the Milesian philosophers. Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, each in his own way, tried to work out a reasoned explanation of our world, and in doing so they broke with the time-honored Egypto-Babylonian explanation adopted by earlier Greek writers, like Hesiod.¹¹ The search for explanations, as well as the controversies to which they gave rise, helped to develop the critical faculties; but this in itself was not sufficient to prepare the ground for writing history. It was still necessary that the new way of thinking be applied to a reliable tradition about the past. The nature of that tradition, or rather the form in which it presented itself to early investigators, is unusual, probably without parallel. It would be tempting to digress at this point on the circumstances that led to the establishment of the dominion of poetry over the hearts and the minds of the early Greeks. But the fact itself is beyond dispute. So well established was this despotism of verse that a very real struggle took place before prose became the accepted medium for scientific writing.¹² So popular had epic poetry become, such enthusiasm was shown for the rhapsodes, that a considerable body of literature—of which only a small part survives—adopted, expanded, retouched, or invented an incredible quantity of legendary material on the exploits of heroic days. The skill employed and the popularity of the finished product were such as to destroy in large measure the identity of the original legends. Therefore, when at last there arose what we may call a scientific, that is, a disciplined, curiosity about the past, it was a curiosity at first directed to this epic tradition. Aristotle's remark on the superiority of poetry to history need not surprise us when we reflect that as late as the time of Augustus a respectable geographer like Strabo could devote considerable time and ingenuity to the defense of Homer, not as an imaginative poet but as a geographer.¹³ Even Thucydides treats the *Iliad* as a document which can be made to yield historical information on the Trojan War.¹⁴ Nor has the fascination ended. Modern scholars still have a weakness for the Hyperboreans¹⁵ and the Amazons,¹⁶ and not only Strabo but a brilliant modern, Victor Bérard, continues to disregard the warning of that skeptical third-century

conceptions gained moral significance (*ibid.*, pp. 92, 94, 98, 116), they never quite graduated from the stage of myth. There was no interest in truth for its own sake.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 ff.; 249; also Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.*, I, 1⁷, p. 259, n.4.

¹² Perhaps the lack of skill displayed by writers like Parmenides helped bring about the change. Eventually even Apollo abandoned his hexameters.

¹³ *Geog.* I 2, 20–40. For an excellent appraisal of Strabo, see W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 3d ed. (London, 1952), pp. 290–91.

¹⁴ Thuc. I 3 ff.

¹⁵ See Geoffrey F. Hudson, *Europe and China* (London, 1931), pp. 28 ff.; but see also "Hyperboreans" in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

¹⁶ The Amazons still haunt Hittite scholars. See O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (Penguin Books, 1952), p. 200, and for this and related matters see the Select Bibliography, No. 10.

scholar, Eratosthenes: "To find the route followed by Odysseus, you must first discover the cobbler who sewed up the bag of the winds."¹⁷

Small wonder then that the new spirit of inquiry concerned itself first with the exciting period of the legendary past.¹⁸ If for no other reason, Herodotus would deserve to be honored because he distinguishes between the legendary period of doubtful authenticity and the later period about which reliable information could be obtained.¹⁹ However, the interrogation of the epic tradition with a view to obtaining a reasoned account of the past, though based on false premises, had important results. The problem of chronology was dealt with, as it were, in a vacuum, but a useful yardstick of thirty to forty years for reckoning by generations was invented.²⁰ Also, experience was gained in comparing texts to smooth out inaccuracies and to reconcile contradictions. For the first time a standard based on the observation of human behavior in the present was applied to the past, on the assumption that motives were much the same in heroic days as in the contemporary world.²¹ The process of rationalization dried up the springs of the epic, but it was a necessary preliminary to writing history.²²

Returning to Aristotle's remark about history, we may doubt its validity for the early period, but it does suit his own methods and those of his followers.²³ Aristotle's idea of historical research appears to have been the collection of minute data on a restricted subject.²⁴ The recovery of his lost *Constitution of Athens*, followed by Wilamowitz' thoughtful study of it,²⁵ combined to canonize the view that historical writing among the Greeks began with local history and was later expanded to the concept of universal

¹⁷ Eratosthenes in Strabo, I 2, 15, as translated by E. A. Barber, in *CAH*, VII, 263; cf. Victor Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* (Paris, 1902), 2 vols. For present confusion over Homer's Troy, see Rhys Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley, 1946), chap. III.

¹⁸ See Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.* I, 1⁷ pp. 683 ff.

¹⁹ We may not always agree with Herodotus' distinctions, but he does make them. Cf. Jacoby, "Herodotos," no. 7 in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Suppl. 2 (1913), esp. col. 474, where comparisons are made with Thucydides; G. C. J. Daniels, *Religions-historische Studie über Herodotus* (Antwerp and Nijmegen, 1946), pp. 130-34. At the outset, Herodotus distinguishes between what he has heard about early conflicts between east and west and what he *knows* about the time of Croesus (I 5).

²⁰ See Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.*, I, 1⁷, pp. 689 n.3, 696 n.2.

²¹ Somehow this usually means a degradation of motive; "real" people resemble not Hector but Thersites!

²² Lionel Pearson's contrary view on the disappearance of the epic will be discussed later. For the orthodox interpretation, see Schmid-Stählin, I, 1⁷, pp. 289, 298, etc.

²³ A good example of Peripatetic activities in varied fields may be found in the list of writings attributed to Theophrastus by Diogenes Laertius (V 44). Among early Peripatetic historians Callisthenes, Dicaearchus, Aristoxenus, and Duris may be cited.

²⁴ For Aristotle's antiquarian interests, which he passed on to Callisthenes, see my "Callisthenes and Alexander," *American Journal of Philology*, LXX (1949), 228.

²⁵ U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1893).

history. The recent schematic attack on this interpretation by Felix Jacoby²⁶ puts Herodotus and the logographers in an entirely new light. Specifically, it is argued that the historian's interest was general, in the past of man,²⁷ not limited to Persia or Lydia, let alone Athens, Sparta, or the Olympic victors.²⁸ This very generality which Aristotle denies is one more indication of the close resemblance between developments in philosophy and history, a fact which will be more evident after a glance at the logographers who wrote before, or at least independently of, Herodotus.

Logographer can be used in the general sense of prose writer but is limited here to the predecessors of Herodotus. Otherwise we should have to speak of "genealogists," "mythographers," or use some other clumsy, inexact, or less familiar word.²⁹ The term ἱστορίη is another puzzler. It has undergone a number of changes in meaning, beginning as "tracking down," thence "inquiry," or "investigation," and then, in the fourth century, appearing in plural form as the title of a historical work.³⁰ No doubt the popularity of Herodotus' work combined with the well-known phrase ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις in his preface to limit the application of ἱστορίη to historical investigation. Herodotus defines it clearly when he warns us that from now on what he has to say about Egypt will be based on hearsay (ἐρέων κατὰ ἤκουον), while what precedes rests on his own ὄψις, γνώμη, and ἱστορίη.³¹ This would appear to involve three distinct steps: seeing for himself, forming a tentative judgment, and then testing that judgment by investigation;³² but one should not require a Greek author, least of all Herodotus, to use any word consistently in a technical sense.³³ Quite possibly when Aristotle made his unflattering remark about history in the *Poetics*, he was merely echoing earlier criticism of ἱστορίη.³⁴

²⁶ Felix Jacoby, *Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (Oxford, 1949). See esp. chap. 1. He was already moving in this direction in 1913 (see "Herodotos," *RE*, Suppl. 2, cols. 354-55).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, see preface.

²⁸ For a different view, well argued, see Gaetano de Sanctis, "La composizione della storia di Erodoto," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*, LIV (1926) 289-309, now reprinted in his *Studi di storia della storiografia greca* (Florence, 1951), pp. 21 ff.

²⁹ On the use of the word "logographer," see Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 5-8; A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, I (Oxford, 1945), 138 ff.; Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.*, I, 17, p. 691.

³⁰ Cf. John L. Myres, *Herodotus, Father of History* (Oxford, 1953), p. 9; Schmid-Stählin, I, 17, n.11, where it is held that Ephorus was the first to use ἱστορίαι as the title of a historical work.

³¹ See Herod. II 99; other examples in Myres, p. 9.

³² See Jacoby, "Herodotos," *RE*, Suppl. 2, col. 426.

³³ See Myres, pp. 46 ff.

³⁴ Heraclitus' caustic remarks about Hecataeus as a polymath come to mind (*FGrH*, I, no. 1, T 21), though he includes Hesiod, Pythagoras, and Xenophanes in the same category.

Our most useful statement on the logographers comes from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and may be translated as follows:

Before beginning my discussion of Thucydides I wish to say a few words about the other historians, the older ones and also those who lived when he did. This will show how his plan differed from that of his predecessors, and thus reveal the man's ability. For there were many early historians from many places, even before the Peloponnesian War, including Euagon of Samos, Deiochus of Cyzicus, Bion of Proconnesus, Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phygela, Hecataeus of Miletus, the Argive Acusilaus, Charon of Lampsacus, . . . of Chalcedon, and Amelesagoras of Athens. Living somewhat before the Peloponnesian War but continuing down to Thucydides' day were: Hellanicus of Lesbos, Damastes of Sigeium, Xenomedes of Ceos, Xanthus of Lydia, and many more. These men adopted a similar plan in the choice of a subject, and they did not differ greatly from one another in ability. For some of them wrote Hellenic histories [ἱστορίαι],³⁵ and some barbarian histories. They did not write connected accounts, but broke them up instead according to peoples and cities, treating each separately with but one aim in view—to make generally known whatever local records had survived, whether of peoples or cities, and whether lying about in temple precincts or anywhere else, without adding anything to what they found, or leaving anything out. Mythological material, acceptable because of its antiquity, was included, and also some dramatic tales, quite silly from a modern point of view. For the most part, writers who choose this kind of speech³⁶ have much the same style, clear, ordinary, pure, succinct, and appropriate to the matter in hand, but showing no pains in composition.³⁷ In varying degrees their works do have a certain freshness and charm, and *that is why they have survived*.³⁸

This double list of logographers, as well as Dionysius' remarks about them, can be very valuable if we are able, first, to satisfy ourselves that the list is genuine and that the works alluded to were available in Augustan Rome.

Pearson makes out a strong case for the revival of interest in the logographers during the Hellenistic period, particularly in Alexandria, but he suggests that many of these manuscripts were lost in the famous library fire.³⁹ Accordingly, in speaking about a contemporary of Dionysius who also lived in Rome, he remarks: "Strabo's quotations, for example, are frequently taken from Eratosthenes, to whom he is honest enough to admit his obligations."⁴⁰ The reader who follows up Pearson's reference may be somewhat startled to find Strabo castigating Eratosthenes for his credulity in making use of unreliable sources such as "Damastes and others of that kind" (I 3, 1).

³⁵ Pearson (*Early Ionian Historians*) evidently feels the word ἱστορίαι was used by Dionysius in a derogatory sense. See his translation of the passage (pp. 3-4) and also his remarks on p. 20.

³⁶ I.e., the Ionian dialect, as is clear from chap. 23.

³⁷ See Stanley F. Bonner, *The Literary Treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus* (Cambridge, Eng., 1939), p. 24, for the characteristics of the Plain style discussed by Dionysius.

³⁸ *De Thucyd.* 5. I have followed the text in *FGrH*, I, no. 1, T 17a with the revisions adopted in III B, no. 330 T 1.

³⁹ See Pearson, pp. 8-11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

He surely does not mean to suggest that his only acquaintance with Damastes came about through reading Eratosthenes. To have done so would have been to cut the ground out from under his own criticism. He admits no obligation. So far as the passage bears on survival at all, it implies that Strabo knew and distrusted writers like Damastes.

Schmid is much more specific. He says that of Dionysius' older group scarcely an author would have been available, except for Hecataeus and Acusilaus. And in proof of his contention he quotes Dionysius against himself,⁴¹ but he quotes out of context. In the previous chapter Dionysius has explained his general method of classifying prose style (λέξις). Then, at the outset of chapter 23, he tells us he will attempt briefly to classify the historians (συγγραφεῖς) before Thucydides. He adds, however, that since the very early writers (οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι πάντες) are known by name only, he cannot determine whether their style was plain and unadorned (λιτὴ καὶ ἀκόσμητος) or grand (πομπικὴ). He goes on to say: "The greater number of these works have not come down to my day, nor are all those that we have, universally acknowledged as being the work of these men. This applies to Cadmus of Miletus, to Aristaeus of Proconnesus and the like." He adds: "But those who lived before the Peloponnesian War, continuing down to the time of Thucydides, all of them for the most part followed the same kind of plan." He continues with a description of their style, naming no one but Herodotus, whom he excludes from his generalization. Schmid overlooks Dionysius' nice distinction between the "very early writers" such as Cadmus, and the logographers whom he has already named in chapter 5. It is only the very early writers whose works "have not come down to my day." He intended us to believe that the writers listed in chapter 5 had survived to offer a basis for expert judgment on style and content. With all his faults, Dionysius is reliable on matters of fact.⁴²

Jacoby distrusts the list itself, fearing that we do not have it in the form in which it was written. He notes particularly that Hecataeus is out of order and asserts that Dionysius never got his hands on Hecataeus' works.⁴³ This blunt statement he justifies by the absence of any reference to Hecataeus in the *De imitatione* (περὶ μιμήσεως).⁴⁴ However, after careful examination of the literary essays of Dionysius, Bonner finds that the *De imitatione*, as we now have it, is only an epitome,⁴⁵ and an epitome of an immature work, one

⁴¹ Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.*, I, 17, p. 691, n.6, quoting the *De Thucyd.* 23.

⁴² For a discussion of Dionysius' essays, see Bonner, also Gomme, *Hist. Commentary on Thucydides*, I, 50-51, where he links Dionysius and Strabo as having "something of the scholar in them in an unscholarly age."

⁴³ FGrH, I, 318.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Bonner, *Literary Treatises of Dionysius*, p. 39.

in which "Dionysius is, as he informs us elsewhere, prevented by lack of space from illustrating his remarks."⁴⁶ Therefore, his failure to mention Hecataeus here does not prove anything. The *De Thucydide*, on the other hand, was written late and represents Dionysius at his very best.⁴⁷

The fact that Hecataeus appears out of chronological order on the list need not mean that his name was inserted later but merely that some copyist was careless; he may have skipped over the name, then added it later to avoid recopying; or he may have been misled by the occurrence of ὁ Μιλήσιος elsewhere on his list. But finding Hecataeus' name in the wrong place is not nearly as disconcerting as finding the name of an Amelesagoras at all. Here, however, Jacoby does not suggest a later addition. Instead, he resorts to the convenient device of positing a lacuna in the text. Then he is able to identify this name with that of Amelesagoras of Athens, reported to have written an *Atthis* in about 300 B.C. If Jacoby is right about this, and if he is also right in believing that "Amelesagoras" was a *pseudepigraphon*,⁴⁸ then Dionysius, an expert on forgeries,⁴⁹ certainly made a bad mistake when he put an Amelesagoras on his list of logographers. However, the mistake is excusable if, as has been maintained, "Amelesagoras" was clever enough to deceive that astute librarian, Callimachus.⁵⁰ But this is all conjectural. The fact that the list presents some textual difficulties does not justify us in impeaching Dionysius. There was a list, and that list contained the names of logographers with whose works he was familiar. Not all of them will have been late forgeries, and any imitator clever enough to deceive Dionysius would necessarily have followed the pattern of the genuine logographers, with which Dionysius was familiar. Therefore, Dionysius' general discussion of the logographers is still valuable.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-94, 103. Jacoby (*FGrH*, I, 318) suggests a revival of interest in Hecataeus about the time of Trajan, apparently relying on Arrian (*Anab.* V 6, 5). Arrian cites both Herodotus and Hecataeus for the famous remark about Egypt's being a "gift of the Nile," but he adds, ἡ εἰ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου ἢ Ἑκαταίου ἐστὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ γῇ Αἰγυπτία ποιήματα, clearly suggesting that he had his information about Hecataeus at second hand. For an arresting view about the influence of Herodotus on Arrian, see Heinrich Bischoff, *Der Warner bei Herodot* (Marburg, 1932), pp. 11 n.1, 82 n.2.

⁴⁸ Jacoby regards "Amelesagoras" as a *pseudepigraphon*. He says this is a name "unheard of for a human being" (*Atthis*, p. 85). He identifies him with Ἀμελησαγόρας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγεγραφώς referred to by Antigonus of Carystus about 250 B.C. (*FGrH*, III B, no. 330, F 1). This is denied by Schmid as an unnecessary reflection on Dionysius (Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.*, I, 17, p. 707). He prefers to read *De Thucyd.* 5 as καὶ ὁ Χαλκηδόντιος Μελησαγόρας, as proposed by A. Dudith. Thus both Jacoby and Schmid emend the text, Jacoby by a lacuna, Schmid by changing a letter. I have followed Jacoby, but without enthusiasm.

⁴⁹ See Bonner, pp. 10-11. On the question of forgery and Hecataeus, see Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, pp. 32-34.

⁵⁰ See Jacoby, *Atthis*, p. 85. Schmid admits the influence of the *Atthis* of "Melesagoras" on Callimachus' *Hecale* (*op. cit.* I, 17, p. 707, n.8) but he does not believe that this man can be identified with the author mentioned by Dionysius (*De Thucyd.* 5). See n.48 above.

Dionysius' brief remarks in chapter 5 on the style of the logographers sufficiently indicate why, as a rhetorician, he found them uninteresting; in chapter 23 he is even more explicit. He says they wrote in the Ionian dialect, "which flourished in that period," and lacked all the graces of metaphor and ornament, "in the use of which the orator's skill reveals itself." The fact that Cicero expresses the same views on early prose style (e.g., *De oratore* II 53) indicates a common source, Theophrastus,⁵¹ and serves both to distinguish the judgment of Dionysius from that of his contemporary, Strabo—who finds in early prose a conscious imitation of poetry⁵²—and also to support the view that Dionysius knew the logographers at first hand. His own preferences for style in a historian naturally led in a different direction.⁵³

The statements Dionysius makes about the content of these early writers need to be examined. When he says, "They did not write connected accounts but instead broke them up according to peoples and cities, treating each separately . . .," he is describing, not a "history" but a gazetteer, albeit a gazetteer that included: "mythological material . . . and also some dramatic tales."⁵⁴ There is no reason to doubt his word, and a study of the fragments fails to contradict him. True, if Herodotus had survived in a similarly mutilated form, the same judgment on Herodotus by a competent critic might well square with the evidence. But our competent critic expresses a judgment on Herodotus very different from his judgments on the others.⁵⁵ Is it not unreasonable for us to assume that the alleged defects of the logographers spring from the accidents of survival, while the virtues of Herodotus lie in unacknowledged borrowings from works no longer extant?⁵⁶ In this way Herodotus is placed in an impossible position. His successor, Thucydides, survives with all his brilliance, while his predecessors continue to press their claims, not for what they wrote but for whatever the ingenuities of modern scholarship say they might have written!

Equally significant is Dionysius' version of the credo of the early writers who, he says, had "but one aim in view—to make generally known whatever local records had survived, whether of peoples or cities, and whether lying about in temple precincts or anywhere else, without adding anything to

⁵¹ See Jacoby, *FGH*, I, 318, line 27; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.* II, 2⁶, p. 67. Elsewhere, however, we have seen that Dionysius refuses to commit himself on the style of very early writers like Cadmus (*De Thucyd.* 23).

⁵² Strabo I, 2, 6. For comment, see Pearson, p. 5.

⁵³ E.g., his praise of Theopompus may be noted, but perhaps this was for his conservative political views as well as style. See Kurt von Fritz, "The Historian Theopompos," *American Historical Review*, XLVI (July, 1941), 765–87.

⁵⁴ *De Thucyd.* 5.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 5; 23.

⁵⁶ For comment, see Pearson, esp. pp. 82 ff. For another possibility see Murray, *Greek Studies*, pp. 35–36.

what they found or leaving anything out." Here a late idea about history is attributed to the logographers, who are described as though they had been conscientious Peripatetic antiquarians. Its validity depends on how Dionysius got his information. If it comes from the logographers we must accept it, but if it comes from them either it must have been made explicit in one or more prefaces or else it must have been inferred by Dionysius from remarks scattered through the body of their works. But the day of chatty prefaces was not yet. Our knowledge of Herodotus' methods has been acquired by long and exhaustive studies of the text, while his preface is general, magisterial, brief.⁵⁷ Dionysius would have had neither the interest nor the training to deduce historical method on the basis of internal evidence.⁵⁸ However, the motives and methods attributed by Dionysius to the old logographers are suited to the intellectual climate of Augustan Rome, where a somewhat romantic interest in the past betrays itself, both in the *Aeneid* and in the *Ab urbe condita*. Dionysius himself was tempted away from the field of literary criticism, in which he was a master, and persuaded to compile that long, dull, unimaginative work of his on the history of Rome.⁵⁹ Apparently he assumed the motives of his own day for the Ionians. Herodotus, in all probability, marks an advance over his predecessors in the use of documents, living as he did in a somewhat more bookish age,⁶⁰ yet Dionysius' statement has only a limited application to Herodotus. It should not be accepted today as proof that the logographers used documentary evidence exclusively, or even primarily.⁶¹

Lionel Pearson, in his valuable study *Early Ionian Historians*, presents a provocative, if fallacious, theory on the development of historical writing. He might have named it the "persecution" theory. The decline of the epic and the rise of lyric poetry are explained, in part at least, by the loss of independence by the Asiatic Greeks in the sixth century. Patrons for epic poets were no longer found under the tyrants, and one of these poets, Panyasis, is referred to as "a fierce nationalist with republican ideals."⁶² This intolerance for the expression of "nationalist ideals" in Ionia brought about the "inevitable

⁵⁷ See Myres, *Herodotus*, pp. 66 f.; 88; Murray, p. 45. One other early preface is known to us, that of Hecataeus. It shows the same brevity. See below n.77.

⁵⁸ He was more interested in form than in content. His lack of historical understanding was shown in his own attempt to write history. See Gomme, *Hist. Commentary on Thucydides*, I, 51.

⁵⁹ A work Bonner believes he unquestionably regarded as his best (*Lit. Treatises Dionysius*, p. 1). Dionysius' own preface is suggestive in that regard.

⁶⁰ See the judicious remarks of Sir Frederic G. Kenyon in his *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1951), pp. 20 ff. The real age of books came after Alexander, and continued some three hundred years into the Christian era (*ibid.*, pp. 38-39).

⁶¹ As Schmid appears to do. See *Gesch.d.griech.Lit.* I, 17, pp. 689 f.

⁶² Pearson, pp. 13-14.

decline of epic poetry" as well as the exile of "literary men with liberal ideas," and we find two new types emerging, "the wandering sophist, and the wandering logographer."⁶³ The crushing of epic poetry left a gap. "History, then, was to take its place, a feeble imitation, as its first readers must have thought, of the epic poem."⁶⁴ For this extraordinary view of the suppression of the epic Pearson offers no evidence, unless his reference to the shadowy figure of Panyasis be interpreted as such.⁶⁵ But there is more. Accepting the statement of Dionysius on the procedure of the logographers in quoting "official records just as they found them, neither adding anything nor taking anything away" at its face value, he makes this comment:

To glorify and magnify the past, perhaps at the expense of the present, as the epic poetry did, was dangerous, if not actually forbidden under the Persian domination. But simply to tell the truth, to record events such as were described in the annals of their cities, could not possibly be considered dangerous or subversive of authority.⁶⁶

Pearson, too, finds Dionysius' statement strange, but instead of treating it as an anachronism he seeks to bolster it up with his "persecution" theory. Surely the Greek tyrants were not so stupid as to regard the epic as dangerous because it glorified the past? Augustus was more astute. While he left the heroic age to Virgil and Livy, the *Res Gestae*, which simply "tells the truth" and "records events," he wrote himself. Alexander found Homer so congenial that he slept with the *Iliad* under his pillow—but he took care to edit what Callisthenes wrote before it was released to a waiting public.⁶⁷ But by far the most damaging aspect of this "persecution" theory is its complete distortion of the spirit of Greek historical inquiry. It is precisely because, among the Greeks, history arose from the epic, and not from official or temple sources, that its development was so different from that of the older chronicles of Assyria and Babylonia or the vivid narratives of the Hebrews. It is this professional detachment of the historian, his honest attempt first to find out what happened, then to explain why it happened, that distinguishes the Greeks from their predecessors and from most of their successors.⁶⁸ And this brings us to Herodotus, traditionally the father of history.

In the ancient world his reputation suffered, inevitably but unfairly, because of two of his imitators, Thucydides and Ctesias. The former, his true

⁶³ *Ibid.* pp. 14-15.

⁶⁴ For evidence on how people felt at the time he refers to Strabo (I 2, 8)!

⁶⁵ Pearson, p. 14. For an appraisal of Panyasis see Schmid-Stählin, I, 17, pp. 297 ff. For a skeptical attitude on his alleged relationship to Herodotus, see J. Enoch Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, Eng., 1939), preface.

⁶⁶ Pearson, p. 16.

⁶⁷ See "Callisthenes and Alexander," *Am. Jour. Philol.*, LXX, 233-34.

⁶⁸ Tacitus' *sine ira et studio* recognizes this in principle.

successor, paid him the compliment of beginning where he left off.⁶⁹ Also, and this is particularly germane to our inquiry, he appears to have gone out of his way to support Herodotus and his methods against the popular writer, Hellanicus.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, using these methods more expertly than Herodotus, Thucydides went beyond him, and in so doing made the pioneer work seem amateurish. Ctesias had a much more damaging effect. Not a true historian, he composed historical romances in the guise of history, borrowing much of his material from Herodotus while at the same time impugning his veracity.⁷¹ It is understandable perhaps, but damnable, that Ctesias' well-earned reputation as a prevaricator should carry over to Herodotus.⁷² Matters were not improved by the frontal assault on Herodotus in Roman days by Plutarch.⁷³ We are fortunate, indeed, that the text of Herodotus has survived to enable modern investigators to right this ancient wrong.⁷⁴ But vindication has been slow. Decipherment of the Egyptian and Babylonian scripts led some scholars into making unkind remarks about Herodotus, forgetting that he could not possibly have avoided gross errors, dependent as he was on local guides and interpreters.⁷⁵ More recently, however, there have been a number of excellent studies on Herodotus that restore him to his proper place.⁷⁶

We can now assume that, like the early philosophers, Herodotus was led on by intellectual curiosity and that he used the tools of research invented by them in opening up a new field of inquiry. His interest in "truth" was as

⁶⁹ See Gomme, *Hist. Commentary on Thucydides*, I, 1; also Myres, *Herodotus*, p. 18.

⁷⁰ See Jacoby, *Athos*, pp. 158-59.

⁷¹ See Myres, p. 18. See also Photius' summary of the *Persica* of Ctesias (newly edited with a translation by R. Henry, *Ctésias, la Perse, l'Inde: Les Sommaires de Photius* [Brussels, 1947]), chap. 1: . . . σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀντικείμενα Ἡροδότῳ ἱστορῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψευστὴν αὐτὸν ἀπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποιὸν ἀποκαλῶν . . .

⁷² Myres, p. 18, cites passages to show that the ancients tended to lump together Ctesias, Herodotus, and the logographers. Dionysius' admiration for Herodotus depended in part on the fact that he, too, came from Halicarnassus.

⁷³ The *De malignitate Herodoti* seems now to be accepted as a genuine work of Plutarch. The weakness of the argument, as well as contradictions between statements made here and elsewhere by Plutarch, led some earlier scholars to dispute its authenticity. Plutarch was influenced by his own local Boeotian patriotism into assuming a hostile attitude toward Herodotus, whom he accuses of favoring Athens on personal grounds. Konrat Ziegler ("Plutarchos" no. 2, *RE*, 21, 1 [1951] col. 871) contrasts the rose-tinted optimism of Plutarch with Herodotus' unwavering realism, "which does not allow itself to be blinded by nationalistic phrases." For a similar view, see Myres, pp. 19, 251; and F. W. Walbank on p. 707 of the *OCD*.

⁷⁴ See Kenyon (*Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, pp. 33 f.) for statistics on the survival of books, based on the papyri.

⁷⁵ Notably Archibald H. Sayce, *Herodotus, Books I-III* (1883).

⁷⁶ Excellent bibliographies as well as discussion of earlier literature will be found in Daniels, *Religions-historische Studie over Herodotus*; bibliographical information and discussion also in Myres, *Herodotus*, frequently referred to above. Myres's book emphasizes Herodotus' literary skill, and is a needed corrective for older piecemeal theories of composition (e.g., that of Jacoby, "Herodotos," no. 7, *RE*, Suppl. 2). He believes, and supports his belief, that Herodotus finished his work. He discusses Sayce's views (p. 23) and notes that they were somewhat modified later in life (p. 25).

great as theirs and may be compared with that of Hecataeus.⁷⁷ He was no patriotic national historian. Whether or not Jacoby is technically correct in the view that general history preceded local history among the Greeks, he is fundamentally right in seeing general history as the forward step in the development of historiography. And Herodotus should not be held responsible for later developments in the writing of history, where the fact that history is an unbroken whole was lost sight of. But we still need to understand more about the circumstances that made it possible for Herodotus to conceive the idea of writing the first general history.⁷⁸

There can be no final or simple explanation, but one factor appears to have been neglected too long. When Pearson speaks of "the wandering sophist and the wandering logographer, exiles who felt more comfortable on the Greek mainland or in the new world of Magna Graecia,"⁷⁹ he makes a statement which deserves to be followed up. Herodotus was an exile. Hecataeus, his unconscious rival, apparently was not.⁸⁰ The position of the Greek exile is hard for us to understand. He has come in for more than his fair share of blame, and Alexander later saw in the exiles the greatest menace to order in the Greco-Macedonian world. Be that as it may, the facility with which the citizen of one city-state might settle down in another should be regarded as a factor of more than casual importance for the development of historiography. The Greek exile differed from the American immigrant in that he did not identify himself with the land of his adoption; citizenship was far too jealously guarded for that. It was only in the hour of disaster that Nicias could appeal to the foreign residents as "almost" Athenians (Thuc. VII 63; cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 508); the famous speech-writer, Lysias, who lived his life in Athens and was loyal to the democracy in the dark days of the Thirty Tyrants, was refused Athenian citizenship.⁸¹ The exile might hope

⁷⁷ Hecataeus' famous preface reads: 'Εκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται. τάδε γράψω, ὥς μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέα εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσὶν, and is published with the fragments of the *Genealogiae* by Jacoby (*FGrH*, I, no. 1, F 1a), following Müller (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, I, Hecat. F 332). On this basis De Sanctis attributes the invention of the science of history to Hecataeus ("Intorno al razionalismo di Ecateo," *Riv. di fil. e di istruz. class.*, LXI [1933], but now in his *Studi di storia della storiografia Greca*, p. 3). Schmid suggests that this fragment was the preface of the *Periegesis*, and that the Greek λόγοι were travel accounts, oral tradition, or old epics (*Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*, I, 1⁷, p. 695, n.4). Pearson feels the preface might fit either work, and denies any far-reaching scientific implications (*op. cit.*, pp. 97-98).

⁷⁸ Jacoby rightly insists that Herodotus was not a geographer, but a full-fledged historian, and that he was not less the historian of the barbarians than of the Greeks ("Herodotos," *RE*, Suppl. 2, col. 333). But much of what he has to say on why Herodotus wrote the first general history is distorted by the belief that he intended a different ending for the history than the one we now have (*ibid.*, col. 376).

⁷⁹ P. 15.

⁸⁰ See Schmid-Stählin, *Gesch. d. griech. Lit.*, I, 1⁷, pp. 693-94.

⁸¹ Myres suggests that Herodotus was disappointed in his hopes of Athenian citizenship (p. 12), but there is no proof.

for no share in the political life of the community in which he lived. On the other hand he was permitted to earn his livelihood as he chose, and he was secure of life and limb. He was never an exile in the sense of an Englishman in India or Borneo, since he shared in the cultural and religious life around him. If detachment is a virtue in the historian, it is a virtue the Greek exile could cultivate without the usual disadvantages of living in an alien environment. To these usual attributes of the exile, Herodotus added his own extensive travels.⁸² Thus he acquired a sympathetic understanding of the barbarian peoples as well as the Greeks, and a perspective of the whole complex of societies, impossible for a man who remained peacefully within the confines of a single state. Above all, his long stay in Athens, as an exile, gave him the leisure to assimilate his impressions and to write, not as an Athenian or a Halicarnassian but as an interested onlooker.⁸³ His life must in many ways have been a tragic one. No Greek could help feeling the loss of his civic rights as a great deprivation, but any bitterness Herodotus may have felt seems not to have colored his history, unless we so interpret his sarcastic remarks about the Ionians.⁸⁴

The tradition of the historian in exile continued long after Herodotus' day. Thucydides, to be sure, began writing his history early in the Peloponnesian War, but the work as we have it could not have been written without the bleak reflective years of enforced exile.⁸⁵ Xenophon, a respectable though not a great historian, might never have written his *Hellenica* or the *Anabasis* had he been permitted to return to Athens after Cunaxa. Theopompus of Chios, a last-ditch conservative, was also, and understandably, an exile. Timaeus of Tauromenium transmitted his hatred of Agathocles into the most complete history of Sicily ever written, during the fifty interminable years he spent as an exile in Athens.⁸⁶ The list might be extended indefinitely, for it almost

⁸² No one denies Herodotus traveled widely, but there are many differences over where, when, and how long. For a thorough discussion see Jacoby, "Herodotos," *RE*, Suppl. 2, cols. 253 ff.

⁸³ No one doubts that he remained in Athens for some time, and he is also regarded as a colonist of Thurii; but there agreement ends. The bare minimum of facts that can be extracted from his own work are discussed by Powell (*Herodotus*, pp. 84-86).

⁸⁴ As a Halicarnassian he would not have cared for Ionia. But he also lived as an exile in Ionian Samos. His remarks may reflect, in part, a reasoned criticism of Ionian policies.

⁸⁵ For the composition of Thucydides' history, cf. Jaqueline de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impérialisme athénien* (Paris, 1947), pp. 134-36, 166-67, 194-96, 284, 293; John H. Finley, Jr., *Thucydides* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), chap. III; Gomme, *Hist. Commentary on Thucydides*, I, see index, under "Thucydides, Composition of the History." Jacoby (*Atthis*, p. 73) rightly insists that Thucydides is to be believed when he tells us that he began to write at the very beginning of hostilities, and "not for the accidental reason that he had the time to write in his exile from 424 B.C. onwards." The significance of exile is not that it gave the historian leisure but rather that it changed his perspective and broadened his understanding of the events he was describing.

⁸⁶ While Timaeus wrote in more detail about Sicily, he also dealt with affairs in Greece itself, Italy, Carthage, etc.

coincides with that of the leading Greek historians, but we may fittingly close with Polybius. It was as an exile, a hostage in fact, that he went to Italy after the Third Macedonian War. There he came to understand the permanent strength of Rome in the Mediterranean world, and he attempted to explain this in historical terms.

Is it not reasonable to suppose that exile, as it prevailed in the Greco-Roman world was a condition favorable, perhaps indispensable, to the invention of our concept of universal history? Yet this concept would never have suggested itself even to an intelligent exile until the secularization of thought had begun with the Ionian monists. For this process, too, tended to free the inquiring mind from the narrow outlook of local patriotism. The importance of detail for the historian need not be minimized, nor should the study of local history be deprecated; but good local history could not be written, nor could minute attention to detail become fruitful, before Herodotus and other Greek historians, taught us to think in terms of the history of man.

Perhaps it has always been inevitable that the philosopher and the historian should misunderstand one another, since neither has set definite limits to his field, and since each, not unnaturally, has been inclined at times to resent the pretensions of the other. Philosophical ideas can and have been "explained" in terms of the historical environment in which they arose, while a philosophy of history is implicit in every genuine historical work. Aristotle's evaluation of history as less worth-while, because less philosophical, than poetry, need not surprise us. As a philosopher he could hardly think otherwise, particularly in a period and among a people where philosophy stood out above every other discipline. The idea of history had been discovered—and for that idea we shall always remain indebted to the Greeks—but in antiquity the historical profession failed to attract many really first-rate minds. That is a pity, for it leaves a great gap in our knowledge of the past. And we could not fill that gap satisfactorily even though we possessed those details regarded by Aristotle as the sole preoccupation of the historian.

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Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century*

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EVERY modern society has been faced with problems arising from inequalities among the various groups of which it is composed, particularly since the eighteenth-century proclamation in America that "all men are created equal," and the elaboration in France of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The differences which produced inequality have been various—economic, social, racial, linguistic, religious, political—and variously intertwined. In the Near East until very recent times the major boundary lines between groups, and therefore the principal barriers to a homogeneous society of equals, have been religious. Although today social and economic disparities in Near Eastern society have vastly increased as modern technology and finance have provided greater opportunities for getting and spending, and although nationalist rivalries now challenge the primacy of religious rivalries, it is still often true that religion is the dividing line, and that a man's creed is his distinguishing mark.

In the Ottoman Empire of the early nineteenth century his religion provided a man's label, both in his own conceptual scheme and in the eyes of his neighbors and his governors. He was a Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Gregorian Armenian, Jew, Catholic, or Protestant before he was a Turk or Arab, a Greek or Bulgar, in the national sense, and also before he felt himself an Ottoman citizen. The Ottoman government, by granting official recognition to these *millet's*, as the religious communities were called, had preserved and even emphasized the religious distinctions. The empire itself was governed by Muslims; its law was based on the religious law of Islam. But within this empire the several Christian communities and the Jewish community enjoyed a partial autonomy, whereby the ecclesiastical hierarchy which administered the *millet* supervised not only the religious, educational,

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and charitable affairs of its flock; it controlled also such matters of personal status as marriage, divorce, and inheritance, and it collected some taxes. This mosaic pattern, in which a Christian and a Muslim living side by side in the same state under the same sovereign were subject to different law and different officials, had served the Ottoman Empire well for four centuries. In the Near East law was still, as it had formerly been in the West also, personal rather than territorial.

The semiautonomy of the Christian *millet's* did not, however, mean complete equality among the subjects of the empire. The Muslim *millet* was dominant. This did not lead to any systematic persecution of Christians by Muslims, nor to any systematic oppression of Christians by the Ottoman government. Indeed, inefficient or corrupt and extortionate government in the empire often bore more heavily on Muslim Turks and Arabs than it did on Christians. Pasha and tax-farmer alike found the piastres they could squeeze from Muslims just as sound as Christian money and did not vary their harshness or their methods with the religion of the victim. Despite all this, it was still incontestable that Christians were looked down upon as second-class citizens both by the Muslim public and by the government. They suffered unequal treatment in various ways. Their dress was distinctive, and if Christian or Jew wore the fez he was required to sew on it a strip of black ribbon or cloth, not to be concealed by the tassel. Sometimes the unequal treatment was in purely ecclesiastical matters, as for example on those occasions when the Sublime Porte denied permits to one of the Christian sects for the repair of churches. One aspect of religious inequality was particularly galling, though it arose infrequently as a concrete issue—Christians could not so easily make converts from among the Muslims as could Muslims from among the Christians, since Islamic law demanded that apostasy be punished by death. In addition, the Christians suffered certain specific disabilities in public life. They were, for example, denied opportunity for appointment to the highest administrative posts; they could not serve in the armed forces but had to pay an exemption tax; Christian evidence was discounted in a Muslim court of law. Neither the concept nor the practice of citizenship, involving equal rights and duties, existed in the Ottoman Empire before the nineteenth century.¹

After 1800, the attention of the Ottoman government was forcibly directed

¹ There is no adequate study on the status of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Voluminous sources exist, many of them dealing only with a particular district or period, and many have a distinctive bias. Among the best accounts for the mid-nineteenth century are Abdolonyme Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, tr. by Lady Easthope (London, 1856), II; and *Accounts and Papers*, 1861, LXVII, "Reports . . . relating to the Condition of Christians," a collection of statements by British consuls in different parts of the empire.

toward the question of equality in several ways. First, as Christian groups in the empire absorbed Western ideas of liberty and nationality, and as education and literacy increased among them, they complained more frequently and loudly about the lack of equality. Second, they found ready hearers among the several great powers who traditionally acted as protectors of Christians in the Near East and who, for mixed motives of humanitarianism and power politics, magnified the volume of these complaints in the Sublime Porte's ear and pressed for changes. Third, Ottoman statesmen who were concerned to check the territorial disintegration of the empire, and its internal decline, embarked on a program of reorganization and incipient westernization which inevitably brought them up against the same problem of equality as they moved to adopt or adapt elements of the Western state's political pattern. The question of the equality of Christian, Muslim, and Jew was by no means the major question faced by these statesmen, but it ran like a thread through many phases of the larger problem of Ottoman reform and westernization. Should Christians be given equal opportunity as students in the schools to be established in a reformed educational system? Should they be allowed to serve in a rejuvenated army? Should they be admitted to the highest administrative posts as the bureaucracy was improved? Should the contemplated revisions and codifications of law apply equally to Christian and Muslim? And, if any sort of representative government were established, whether on a provincial scale or in the form of a constitutional monarchy, should Christians be represented, and how?

It is, therefore, one of the most significant aspects of Ottoman history in the nineteenth century that the doctrine of equality did, in fact, become official policy. Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), who took some crucial steps toward reform in his own vigorous way, frequently made it plain that in his view all his subjects, of whatever creed, were equal.² But it was during the Tanzimat period of 1839 to 1876, a new era in Ottoman efforts at reform and westernization, that the doctrine of the equality of Christian and Muslim was proclaimed in the most solemn manner and came to play a prominent role in the central question of Ottoman revival.³

² See the convenient collection of such statements in Harold Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea* (London, 1936), pp. 40-41.

³ The doctrine of equality of course included Jews as well. But Christians were far more numerous in the empire and provided most of the problems. Among the 14,000,000 non-Muslims in an empire of some 35,000,000, Christians were an overwhelming majority. There were perhaps 150,000 Jews. All figures for the nineteenth century are inaccurate approximations. These follow Ubicini, I, 18-26. His estimates, probably low, have found the widest acceptance. For practical reasons, I shall limit the discussion to the status of Christians.

I

An imperial edict of reforms, the Hatt-i Sherif of Gülhane, opened the new era on November 3, 1839.⁴ After public proclamation before an impressive assembly of diplomats and Ottoman notables, the edict was sworn to by the young sultan Abdul Medjid [Abdülmejid] and his high officials in the room where the mantle of the prophet Muhammad was preserved. Much of the Hatt-i Sherif had a profoundly Muslim ring. It laid the decline of the empire directly to the nonobservance of "the precepts of the glorious Kuran." In the next breath it then attempted to reconcile Muslim tradition and progress, promising new institutions which should not contravene Muslim law but should conform to its demands. Security of life, honor, and property was guaranteed, along with reforms in taxing and conscription methods. But the Hatt-i Sherif was most remarkable neither for its Muslim overtones, for its promises of "life, liberty, and property," nor for its pledge to correct specific evils, though all this was important. The most novel aspect of the *hatt* arose from its official declaration of equality. "These imperial concessions," affirmed Abdul Medjid in his edict, "are extended to all our subjects, of whatever religion or sect they may be."

The new policy was confirmed in a more extensive Hatt-i Humayun of 1856, which promised equal treatment for adherents of all creeds in such specific matters as educational opportunity, appointment to government posts, and the administration of justice, as well as in taxation and military service.⁵ An interesting antidefamation clause was included also, forbidding "every distinction or designation tending to make any class whatever of the subjects of my Empire inferior to another class, on account of their religion, language, or race." Legal action would ensue against anyone, whether public official or private individual, who used "any injurious or offensive term." Even name-calling was forbidden in the name of equality.

At frequent intervals the theme was restated, with variations. The next

⁴ Western writers have ordinarily referred to the edict of 1839 as the Hatt-i Sherif [Illustrious Rescript], which was its title in the official French translation distributed by the Sublime Porte to foreign diplomats. See facsimile of French as well as Turkish texts in Yavuz Abadan, "Tanzimat Fermanın Tahlili" [Analysis of the Tanzimat Edict], *Tanzimat* (Istanbul, 1940), I, following p. 48. Turkish historians usually say *Hatt-i Humayun* [Imperial Rescript], or else *Gülhane Fermanı* or *Tanzimat Fermanı*. A *ferman* is a decree or edict. I shall continue here to follow the customary Western terminology in order to avoid confusion and to provide a convenient distinction from the Hatt-i Humayun of 1856 (see note 5). Similarly, where Turkish names first occur, their Western forms are used, followed by the modern Turkish spelling in brackets. The official French text of the Hatt-i Sherif is available in many places, for instance in Ubicini and Pavet de Courteille, *Etat présent de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1876), pp. 231-34.

⁵ Westerners usually call this edict the Hatt-i Humayun, but Turks call it the *Islahat Fermanı* [Reform Edict]. See explanation in note 4. The most useful text, both Turkish and French, is Thomas X. Bianchi, *Khathty Humaïoun* . . . (Paris, 1856).

sultan, Abdul Aziz [Abdülaziz], opened his new Council of State [*Şûray-ı Devlet*] in 1868 with a speech which referred to adherents of all creeds as "children of the same fatherland."⁶ His successor, Murad V, echoed these sentiments in his first *hatt*.⁷ The trend culminated in December, 1876, with the promulgation of the first written constitution in Ottoman history, establishing a limited monarchy all of whose subjects were considered "Osmanli, whatever religion or creed they hold." The constitution further affirmed that "all Osmanli are equal before the law . . . without distinction as to religion."⁸

From 1839 to 1876 many efforts—some valiant, some half-hearted, some merely for the record; some spontaneous, some under diplomatic pressure—were made by the Ottoman government to translate the promises of equality into fact. The sultan in 1844 engaged not to enforce the death penalty for apostasy from Islam. Some Christians were appointed, and some later were elected, to local advisory councils [*meclisler*] established in each province, and also to the Grand Council of State [*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliye*] in 1856. Christians and Muslims were accepted together as students in the newly established imperial *lycée* of Galata Saray in 1867. These and many other measures did something to raise the status of the non-Muslims of the empire, but the advance was slow and piecemeal. No genuine equality was ever attained.

Many European writers of the time, and many Western historians since, have dealt with the Tanzimat period, and the equality question that ran through it, in one of two ways. Some look on it from the outside as a phase of the Eastern Question, during which European diplomats in the service of their own national interests had constantly to prod the Ottoman government to live up to its professions of reform and equality, and to carry them out in a French, Russian, or English fashion. Others consider it primarily as a phase of the long-continued internal decay of the empire, when all efforts to restore the "sick man" to health were unavailing. In either case, most writers have assumed the inability or the unwillingness of the Turks to carry out any significant change. Measuring achievement against promise, they have frequently concluded that the Ottoman statesmen either publicly professed what they did not believe or publicly promised what they knew they could not effect. Such viewpoints, together with the abundant evidence of partial successes, failures, and sins of omission in the Ottoman reform efforts, have

⁶ Text in Ignaz von Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte ottomane* . . . (Paris, 1864-1911), VII, 521-23.

⁷ Text in *Das Staatsarchiv*, XXX (1877), no. 5702.

⁸ Articles 8 and 17. Text in *Das Staatsarchiv*, XXXI (1877), no. 5948.

often led to the judgment that the promises, particularly the promise of equality, were largely hypocrisy—dust to throw in the eyes of the West, to ward off foreign intervention in favor of the subject peoples of the empire, and to blind observers to the continuance of an oppressive Turkish rule over downtrodden Christians.⁹

Careful reassessment of the Tanzimat period is likely to show that such views are based on an inadequate understanding of the aims of the Ottoman statesmen, of the results actually obtained, and of the formidable obstacles to progress and equality. There is need for more penetrating investigation and analysis of the Tanzimat period than has yet been undertaken either by Turkish or Western historians.¹⁰ Among the subjects demanding attention is that of Turkish attitudes on the various phases of reform. An inquiry into the attitudes of Turkish statesmen and people on the subject of Muslim-Christian equality can help to explain what changes the then climate of opinion might or might not accept and why the official program of equality was only partly realized. A complete explanation would of course involve all aspects of the reform question. It would involve also a reconsideration of the degree and nature of Ottoman lag behind European civilization, of the impediments which great-power diplomacy offered to Ottoman reform, and of the situation of multinational empires in an age of clamoring nationalisms. But Turkish attitudes were obviously among the most important forces at work in this period. Some useful indications can be given in answer to three crucial questions: what in reality were the attitudes of leading Ottoman statesmen toward these promises of equality? what traditions and what experience shaped the basic attitudes of Turks toward Christians, a century ago? and what attitudes were then current among them on the proclamation of Christian equality with Muslims?

II

Four Ottoman statesmen initiated and carried through most of the reform measures in this period—Reshid, Ali, Fuad, and Midhat.¹¹ Each was grand

⁹ Many examples might be cited. Edward A. Freeman, *The Ottoman Power in Europe* (London, 1877), is a gem—three hundred pages of magnificently righteous anti-Turkish tirade. On reform promises see especially pp. 189, 197, 225.

¹⁰ There is as yet no scholarly history of the Tanzimat period. The best account of the reforms is still Edouard Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat* . . . (Paris, 1882–84), 2 vols. The most satisfactory general history on the first half of the period is Georg Rosen, *Geschichte der Türken von dem Siege der Reform im Jahre 1826 bis . . . 1856* (Leipzig, 1866–67), 2 vols. Many Turkish scholars have studied aspects of the period, but none has yet produced a full-scale consecutive history. The most important single volume is a 1000-page product by some thirty Turkish scholars, *Tanzimat, Yüzcüncü Yıldönümü Münasebetile* [The Tanzimat, on the Occasion of its Hundredth Anniversary], I (Istanbul, 1940). Volume II never appeared.

¹¹ Mustafa Reşid Paşa (1800–58); Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa (1815–71); Keçecizade Mehmed Fuad Paşa (1815–69); Ahmed Şefik Midhat Paşa (1822–84).

vizier [*sadrâzam*] at least twice, and each occupied high public office throughout most of his adult life. As individuals they were completely different, and often rivals for power. But they were alike in their lack of bigotry and fanaticism.¹² Each had a fair acquaintance with Western political ideas and practices, and with some phases of European life and culture, though Ali was less "Europeanized" than the others in his manner of life and of speech. Each of the four, in his struggles with the administration of the unwieldy empire, came to believe that a degree of westernization was necessary to strengthen the empire. They agreed, further, that this process of reform demanded that all subjects of the empire be treated alike, regardless of creed. They differed as to how fast and by what measures the goal of equality might be reached. Often they waited to be pushed by events. Midhat, who had the greatest energy but the least finesse of the four Tanzimat statesmen, was the most inclined to brush aside legitimate doubts and the cautions born of experience, and to shoulder his way ahead against general prejudices.

It is quite true, as their Western critics charged, that the Tanzimat statesmen used some of the great declarations involving the principle of equality as weapons of diplomacy in times of international crisis, and not solely as programs for domestic reform. The Hatt-i Sherif of 1839 was proclaimed at a time when Muhammad Ali of Egypt threatened the empire's integrity and when the Ottoman government sorely needed the European support which such a promise of reform might help to secure. The Hatt-i Humayun of 1856 was issued under diplomatic pressure as a means of avoiding foreign supervision of Ottoman reform after the Crimean War. Again, the constitution of 1876 was announced dramatically just as a conference of European diplomats got under way in Constantinople to draw up a reform program for parts of the empire. Midhat, who was both the principal author of the constitution and grand vizier at the moment, used his constitution to thwart foreign intervention by proclaiming that the empire was already reforming itself in fundamental fashion. But specific crises alone did not dictate the content of reform promises or the views of the Ottoman statesmen, although they often dictated the time and manner of proclamation. Sometimes, as in 1876, crisis facilitated reform, since at other less turbulent periods there might be more objection from the sultan, from other ministers, or from the public, on the score that no such radical measures were warranted. Crisis, therefore,

¹² It is interesting to note that Reshid, Ali, and Fuad were all Freemasons: Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Mecmuai Ebüzziya* [Ebüzziya's Journal] (Haziran, 1911), cited in Mustafa Nihat, *Metinlerle Muasır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* [History of Contemporary Turkish Literature with Texts] (Istanbul, 1934), p. 27 n. I am not sure whether or not Midhat was a Freemason, but he came from a family with Bektashi affiliations and heterodox proclivities. See below, p. 855, on the Bektashi.

helped to crystallize and precipitate reform projects already considered by responsible viziers, and also to induce a readier reception. The impact of crises on the Tanzimat statesmen was also, naturally, a strong influence on their attitudes toward equality, but their attitudes did not then fluctuate constantly.

Ali was the most conservative Muslim of the four and cautious in moving ahead with reform measures. His views, therefore, are probably the most significant gauge of the advance of attitudes among leading statesmen on Muslim-Christian equality. Ali believed firmly that the Ottoman Turk was best fitted to govern the conglomeration of peoples in the empire.¹³ He believed further that the prestige of this government rested on the prestige of Islam, against which he would allow no propaganda, though he was quite willing that Christians should enjoy freedom of belief and worship.¹⁴ But under the pressure of events, including both the rebellions of native Christians and the interventions of the great powers, Ali's views on the status of Christians changed slowly. In 1867, when he was dealing with the rebellion in Crete, Ali wrote for the Sublime Porte a remarkable memorandum recommending a speedier application of the policy of equality. The Christians would cease to be revolutionaries, said Ali, as their hopes were fulfilled. Therefore they must be given every opportunity for education and tenure of public office, for which they were well fitted, even better prepared than Muslims generally at the moment. The Christians would then no longer regard themselves as held in subjection by a Muslim state but as subjects of a monarch who protected all equally. "In short," concluded Ali, "the fusion of all subjects . . . with the exception of purely religious affairs . . . is the only means."¹⁵ There is no reason to question Ali's sincerity here, though it is obvious that he was pushed to his conclusions by the rush of events and not by thinking in a vacuum about the virtues of equality.

The other three statesmen came more easily to such opinions. Reshid was certainly influenced by a desire for praise for his liberal views from European courts but was apparently convinced that reforms which should guarantee equality to all peoples of the empire would ensure their devotion to the Ottoman government.¹⁶ Fuad expressed in a private memorandum his belief that the grant of liberties to the non-Muslim peoples of the empire would dull

¹³ See Ali to Thouvenel, Nov. 28, 1858, in L. Thouvenel, *Trois années de la question d'Orient* (Paris, 1897), p. 316.

¹⁴ Ali to Musurus, Nov. 30, 1864, enclosed in Morris to Seward, no. 108, Mar. 29, 1865, Turkey no. 18, State, U.S. Archives.

¹⁵ Text in Andreas D. Mordtmann, *Stambul und das moderne Türkenthum* (Leipzig, 1877-78), I, 75-90. Ali recommended also new educational measures, a reformed civil law code, etc.

¹⁶ See for instance his memorandum of Aug. 12, 1839, printed in Frank E. Bailey, *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement . . . 1826-1853* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 271-76.

their nationalist and separatist enthusiasms.¹⁷ Midhat had as a provincial governor in Bulgaria (the Tuna or Danube *vilayet*) shown that he believed in treating Christians and Muslims on an equal basis, while at the same time he suppressed ruthlessly any separatist or revolutionary moves among the Bulgars. He continued to maintain, even after his political star sank in Abdul Hamid II's reign, that the chaotic condition of the empire could be remedied only by a rule of law under which Christians were brought to complete equality with Muslims.¹⁸

What the four Tanzimat statesmen believed boiled down to this—that to save the empire, a new egalitarian citizenship and concept of patriotism, *Osmanlılık* or “Ottomanism,” had to be created. Sometimes they expressed this as the “fusion,” sometimes as the “brotherhood” of all Ottoman subjects. Official documents began to speak more of “imperial subjects,” “subjects of the Sultanate,” and “subjects of the Exalted [Ottoman] state,” in a composite or collective sense, as if to convey a concept of Ottoman citizenship unbroken by *millet* boundaries.¹⁹ The idea of patriotism, or “compatriotism,” was also expressed in the Hatt-i Humayun of 1856.²⁰ Though the statesmen knew that the concept of *Osmanlılık* was a break with the past, it is hard to say whether they fully realized what a tremendous revolution in traditional views was involved here, and what the logical outcome would be. They were not consciously trying to undermine the dominant position of the Muslim Turk. Yet by fostering an egalitarian citizenship, and by attempting to blur the demarcation lines between *millet*'s, they were taking a significant step on the road to a purely secular concept of state and citizenship. A nationality law of 1869, intended to combat the evils of the foreign protection of native Ottoman subjects, had also the effect of putting the acquisition and retention of citizenship on a purely territorial basis, unconnected with religion.²¹ When the 1876 constitution specified that all peoples of the empire were to be called Osmanlı, the unspoken corollary ran that henceforth their primary allegiance was to the state, and only secondarily were they Muslim, Jew, or Greek.

¹⁷ Holographic draft of a memorandum on reforms for the state, in private collection of Salih Keçeci, cited in Orhan F. Köprülü, “Fuad Paşa,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, p. 679.

¹⁸ Yıldız Palace Archives, Midhat's reply to interrogation of May 8, 1297 [1880], partly reproduced in İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı Devrinde Son Sadrazamları* [The Last Grand Viziers in the Ottoman Period] (Istanbul, 1940–50), III, 339.

¹⁹ The Hatt-i Humayun of 1856 used all these expressions: *tebaai şahane*, *tebaai saltanatı*, *tebaai Devlet-i Aliyye*. See the note on this trend in Reuben Levy, *Introduction to the Sociology of Islam* (London, c. 1930–33), II, 259.

²⁰ The term used was *vatancaş*, which Bianchi (*Khaththy Humaïoun*, p. 4 and n.1) says was a new form. The basic word, *vatan*, had meant “native place” or “home” but was coming to be equated to *patrie*, fatherland, since the permeation of French ideas after 1789. See the comments on the meaning of *vatan* in Bernard Lewis, “The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey,” *Journal of World History*, I (July, 1953), 107–108.

²¹ Text in George Young, *Corps de droit ottoman* (Oxford, 1905–1906), II, 226–29. See below, p. 857, on the abuses of the capitulations at which the law was aimed.

With this program of *Osmanlılık*, which would swallow up the narrower concept of Christian equality with Muslims, the Tanzimat statesmen sought to promote reform, fend off the powers, and forestall rebellion. They knew that reform measures would be hard to put across. "*L'on ne saurait improviser la réforme des mœurs,*" said Fuad in 1867, explaining to the European powers why more had not been accomplished in the way of reform since the Hatt-i Humayun of 1856.²² But in the view of the statesmen, Ottomanism was necessary for the salvation of the empire. They wanted to regain a viable and competitive status in a world increasingly ordered by European power and civilization and to prevent the Balkan provinces and Egypt, in particular, from breaking away. Like Winston Churchill, none of them took office in order to preside over the liquidation of empire. Because this was a self-interested version of the doctrine of equality, it was no less honestly meant by its proponents. They are open to criticism not so much on the grounds of hypocrisy as because they failed to understand the driving force of the nationalistic spirit which at this very period was growing stronger among the Greeks, Serbs, and Rumanians of the empire and beginning also to infect Bulgars and Armenians. Because the virulent forms of modern nationalism were not fully comprehensible to them, the Tanzimat statesmen tended to regard such movements as discontent with local conditions, or the product of foreign agitators, or plain insolent rebellion.

One might proceed from this point to argue that the program of equality between Christian and Muslim in the empire remained largely unrealized not because of bad faith on the part of leading Ottoman statesmen but because many of the Christians wanted it to fail. The demand in Crete was basically for autonomy or union with Greece, not for equality. Other Greeks in the empire wanted the same thing. In 1862, for instance, five thousand of them held a banquet on the Bosphorus, agitating for the extension of Greek rule to Macedonia and Thessaly.²³ Serbs wanted not equality but union with the autonomous principality of Serbia. Serbia and Rumania, still within the empire, wanted no sort of equality but national independence. When Midhat Pasha in 1872 began work on a scheme of converting the Ottoman Empire into a federal state like Bismarck's new Germany, with Rumania and Serbia playing Bavaria and Württemberg to the Porte's Prussia, he got a blunt rebuff from them.²⁴ They were not interested even in a sort of corporate equality within the empire.

²² "Considérations sur l'exécution du Firman Impérial du 18 février 1856," in Grégoire Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane* (Constantinople, 1873-75), II, 26.

²³ Morris-Seward, no. 33, Nov. 6, 1862, Turkey no. 17, State, U.S. Archives.

²⁴ "Zapiski Grapha N. P. Ignatyeva (1864-1874)," *Izvestiia Ministerstvo Inostrannykh Del*, 1915, I, 170-72.

The ecclesiastical hierarchies that ruled the Christian *millet's* also opposed equality. *Osmanlılık* would both decrease their authority and lighten their purses. This was especially true of the Greek Orthodox hierarchy, which had the most extensive prerogatives and by far the largest flock. When the Hatt-i Sherif was solemnly read in 1839 and then put back into its red satin pouch it is reported that the Greek Orthodox patriarch, who was present among the notables, said, "*Inşallah*—God grant that it not be taken out of this bag again."²⁵ In short, the doctrine of equality faced formidable opposition from Christians of the empire who were leaders in the churches and the nationalist movements. Ottoman brotherhood was only a remote possibility, if the Christians continued in these directions.

But equality and brotherhood had also to contend with the fundamental Turkish view of Christians. Not only the specific reactions of the Muslim Turks to the proclamations of equality but their basic attitudes toward Christians showed from the beginning that *Osmanlılık* would have hard sledding.

III

If there were a possibility that Muslim Turks could accept an Ottoman fusion in which Christians were their equals, it would be owing to two strong currents in their religious tradition and development. As Muslims, the Turks inherited an attitude of toleration for "peoples of the book" [*ehl-i kitap*]²⁶—those who, like Christians and Jews, possessed a book of divine revelation and paid tribute to the Muslim government. At various times the Ottoman government had offered sanctuary to non-Muslims, notably in the sixteenth century to the Jews driven from Spain. A Turk was likely to say to a Christian that "your faith is a faith, and my faith is a faith."

The tolerant attitude was often reinforced among the people by the remarkable degree of religious syncretism which had existed in Anatolia, and also in the Balkans, since the earliest days of Turkish penetration. The racial mixtures of the Ottoman Empire had been accompanied by religious mixtures of all sorts. Folk-Islam among the Turks was unorthodox in many ways, bearing marks not only of Shiite mysticism but of belief in various Christian miracle stories, saints, and shrines. The widespread Bektashi order, which claimed some seven million adherents, embodied in its beliefs many heterodox notions and helped to provide a climate which might be sympa-

²⁵ Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi V: Nizam-i Cedit ve Tanzimat Devirleri* [Ottoman History V: Periods of Nizam-i Cedit and Tanzimat] (Ankara, 1947), p. 191. Engelhardt, *La Turquie*, I, 142, attributes a similar remark to the archbishop of Nicomedia at the proclamation of the Hatt-i Humayun of 1856. It should also be pointed out that the Greek hierarchy opposed a democratization of its own *millet* structure whereby lay participation in *millet* administration would increase.

thetic to Christianity and Christians. During the Tanzimat period, American missionaries at work in the Ottoman Empire were occasionally excited to discover what they at first thought might be a fertile field for their evangelism—groups of Muslims who read the Christian scriptures or heard Christ preached by their leaders. Some of these were Bektashi. One such group, not specifically Bektashi, was reported to have 10,000 adherents and twice that number of sympathizers.²⁶

Despite the toleration and the syncretism, however, there remained among the Turks an intense Muslim feeling which could sometimes burst into open fanaticism. Such outbursts characteristically came at times of political crisis, particularly in the 1870's, when the internal chaos in the empire, and the external pressures on it, produced a distinct Muslim reaction, the counterpart of what later would have been a nationalist reaction. More important than the possibility of fanatic outbursts, however, was the innate attitude of superiority which the Muslim Turk possessed. Islam was for him the true religion. Christianity was only a partial revelation of the truth, which Muhammad finally revealed in full; therefore Christians were not equal to Muslims in possession of truth. Islam was not only a way of worship, it was a way of life as well. It prescribed man's relations to man, as well as to God, and was the basis for society, for law, and for government. Christians therefore were inevitably considered second-class citizens in the light of religious revelation—as well as by reason of the plain fact that they had been conquered by the Ottomans. This whole Muslim outlook was often summed up in the common term *gâvur* (or *kâfir*), which meant "unbeliever" or "infidel," with emotional and quite uncomplimentary overtones. To associate closely or on terms of equality with the *gâvur* was dubious at best. "Familiar association with heathens and infidels is forbidden to the people of Islam," said Asim, an early nineteenth-century historian, "and friendly and intimate intercourse between two parties that are to one another as darkness and light is far from desirable."²⁷

Islam embodied also a strong prejudice against innovation [*bid'at*]. A declaration of equality might encounter this prejudice not only among Muslim theologians but among the ruling group of the empire who traditionally

²⁶ The missionary reports are in the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), Armenian Mission, VIII, nos. 79, 88, 92, 93, all Schauffler to Anderson, of Mar. 11, Nov. 16, Dec. 12 and 27, 1859. On the Bektashi order see John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1937). It would serve no purpose to cite here a bibliography on Islam. There is a considerable and scattered literature on syncretism. Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), 2 vols., is full of information.

²⁷ *Asim Tarihi* (Istanbul, n.d.), I, 376, quoted in Bernard Lewis, "The Impact of the French Revolution on Turkey," *Jour. World Hist.*, I, 118, n.35.

served faith and state, not state alone. And to the popular mind the promotion of second-class citizens to equal status would undoubtedly be innovation, even if considered only against the background of popular conservatism, rather than as the sort of innovation proscribed by Islam. The whole reform program of the Tanzimat period inevitably ran up against these two intermingled conservatisms of inertia and Islam. Not only that, but the trend of the Tanzimat toward new institutions carried a profound psychological shock in its implication that the traditional Ottoman way of life was not in all respects the best, and that in Christian Europe some things were done better. Imponderables like these confronted the doctrine of Muslim-Christian equality.

Attitudes from their Muslim and Ottoman past were strengthened by the Turks' reactions to the recent impact of Christians on Ottoman life and affairs. The impact seemed generally bad. The Christians of the empire made constant trouble with their sectarian squabbles, whether argument over privileges in the Holy Places, the question of whether Bulgars should be subject to the Greek hierarchy, or the Hassounist controversy over papal authority among the Catholic Armenians. Some Christians made trouble by shifting from one *millet* to another in search of political advantage and foreign protection. The Christian sectarian quarrels were not only unedifying to the Muslims; they were positive nuisances to the Porte and offered in addition excuses for great power intervention.

The other general experience which Muslim Turks had of native Christians was that increasingly the latter tended to become rebels against legitimate authority. It is true that many Turkish and Arab lords had defied central authority, but the matter was not quite the same in Muslim eyes. Turkish *derebey's*, or "lords of the valley," had governed various districts without regard to the Porte's decrees, but many were benevolent despots who held the esteem of their subjects and whose downfall at the hands of Mahmud II was often regretted. Muhammad Ali of Egypt was a rebel, but he was a Muslim, and many Turks had thought of him as a possible saviour from the infidel ideas of the reform edict of 1839.²⁸ Christian rebellion, on the other hand, antagonized Muslim sentiment and eventually provoked among some Turks a reaction which was Ottoman and patriotic but would later become Turkish and nationalist. The events of 1867, for example, when Crete was in revolt and when the last Turkish garrison was forced to withdraw from Belgrade, aroused some Turks to a pitch of frenzy.²⁹ Their anger mounted both

²⁸ Edouard Driault, *L'Egypte et l'Europe, la crise de 1839-1841* (Cairo, 1930—), I, letter 79, Sept. 20, 1839, and II, letter 7, Nov. 19, 1839. These Turks did not realize how much of a reformer Muhammad Ali was in Egypt.

²⁹ Prominent among them the New Ottomans, on whom see below, pp. 862 ff.

against the rebel Christians and against the weakness of the Ottoman government in dealing with rebellion. A similar reaction was natural in the critical years 1875-76, when uprisings in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria were followed by open war against the sultan by two of his vassal states, Serbia and Montenegro.

The continuous interference of the great powers of Europe in Ottoman affairs also angered the Turks. These powers were all, of course, Christian by profession, if not in conduct. Russia, an enemy of long standing, was in a category by itself. But England and France also, despite the fact that they had assisted the empire with their armies in the Crimean War, and at other times with diplomatic pressure, were often detested because these services were overshadowed in the Turkish view by frequent and often high-handed interference. One such instance, which rankled particularly in connection with Muslim-Christian equality, was the fact that the Hatt-i Humayun of 1856 was not purely an autochthonous edict, but that large parts of it had in effect been dictated by the British, French, and Austrian ambassadors. The British ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, had in many ways done great service for the Ottoman Empire, but in this period Ali three times asked London to recall him. Stratford would not allow the sultan to reign along with him, said Ali, and demanded that his own influence should be "so paramount and notorious" that the Porte lost prestige in the eyes of its own public.³⁰ Years after Stratford had left Constantinople, Ali still spoke of him with real hatred.³¹ Fuad, who with his social graces, fluent French, and Europeanized witticisms got along well with foreign diplomats, nevertheless voiced almost the identical criticism of a sympathetic French ambassador, M. Bourée, because "the French will never be satisfied with giving friendly advice in an unassuming way; . . . whatever good thing was done must be advertised as a benefit conferred by France. . . ."³²

Foreign interference rankled particularly when it was based on the capitulatory privileges which the great powers stretched and abused. Many ordinary Turks became aware of this when they saw the support given by Christian diplomats and consuls to thousands of protégés, largely Ottoman Christians who had never seen their protecting country but who were shielded against the taxes and courts of their own state and were often granted foreign passports. Many of the protégés were decidedly shady char-

³⁰ Clarendon to Stratford, Jan. 4, 1856, Private Stratford MSS, FO 352/44, Public Record Office (PRO), quoted in Harold Temperley, "The Last Phase of Stratford de Redcliffe, 1855-58," *English Historical Review*, XLVII (1932), 218.

³¹ L. Raschdau, ed., "Diplomatenleben am Bosphorus. Aus dem literarischen Nachlass . . . Dr. Busch," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CXXXVIII (1909), 384.

³² Elliot to Stanley, no. 68 conf., Dec. 17, 1867, FO 78/1965, PRO.

acters, and their number was considerably augmented in the Crimean War period by riffraff and adventurers of European origin who raised the crime rate in Constantinople.³³ At the end of the Crimean War the Austrian inter-nuncio felt that "the only respectable people, at least so it appears, are the Turks whom we are going to civilize and initiate into the mysteries of our progress."³⁴

The conduct of the more respectable representatives of Christendom in the empire might elicit Turkish approval but might also arouse resentment. It is not apparent that the little colonies of foreign workers, such as the English dockyard workers at Hassköy or the German Swiss at Amasya, had any noticeable impact. Some of the Polish and Hungarian refugees who came after the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 fitted in well with the Ottoman scene, and some became Muslims. There were always respected individual westerners like the English merchant of Beirut, James Black. It was reported that when a Muslim of the area wanted to use an oath stronger than "by the beard of Muhammad" he swore "by the word of Black, the Englishman."³⁵ But westerners of the utmost personal respectability could often rub Turks the wrong way. Some of the British consuls in the empire were found even by their own superiors to be shallow and vain, and to supply their personal deficiencies "by borrowing largely from the national dignity," which they then dragged into every private affair.³⁶ Missionaries of impeccable character often annoyed Muslims by their evangelical persistence. An extreme example concerns two English missionaries who one day affixed a poster to the mosque of St. Sophia advertising that on the morrow from its steps they would denounce the prophet Muhammad as an imposter.³⁷

IV

Given such a background of the innate Muslim conviction of superiority, and the unfortunate experiences of Turks with Christians, a preponderance of opinion against the official doctrine of Muslim-Christian equality was natural. Turkish resistance to the doctrine varied with the individual, the locality, and the moment. Some Turks, quite a few of them in the Ottoman bureaucracy, accepted it at least superficially, but wholehearted acceptance was rare. No great uprisings against the reform edicts occurred, though in

³³ See, for example, the comments of Sir Edmund Hornby, judge of a British consular court in this period, in his *Autobiography* (London, 1928), p. 93. (Marco Antonio) Canini, *Vingt ans d'exil* (Paris, 1868), pp. 111-42, gives a good picture of the riffraff in the capital.

³⁴ Prokesch to Buol, Jan. 10, 1856, Politisches Archiv XII/56, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv.

³⁵ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* (New York, 1910), I, 49; II, 465.

³⁶ Bulwer to Russell, no. 177, Sept. 27, 1859, enclosing Bulwer to C. Alison of same date, FO 78/1435, PRO.

³⁷ Hornby, pp. 124-25.

some localities there was rioting. In part, the opposition came from the mere fact of the proclamation of unpopular principles, whereas the slow introduction of specific measures, with no fanfare, might have gone unnoticed. Many Turks muttered their resentment against the authors of the doctrine of equality and other infidel concepts. Each of the four Tanzimat statesmen was called the "*gâvur paşa*," the "unbeliever of a pasha," though Ali probably less frequently than the others. The mere idea of equality, especially the antidefamation clause of 1856, offended the Turks' inherent sense of the rightness of things. "Now we can't call a *gâvur* a *gâvur*," it was said, sometimes bitterly, sometimes in matter-of-fact explanation that under the new dispensation the plain truth could no longer be spoken openly.³⁸ Could reforms be acceptable which forbade calling a spade a spade?

Events which followed the two great-reform proclamations serve to illustrate the general antipathy to their promises of equality. One example is related to the touchy question of military service. Both in 1839 and 1856 the sultan proclaimed that his Christian subjects should be equally privileged to serve in the armed forces along with the Muslims, instead of paying an exemption tax as they had previously done. It soon became obvious that the Christians would rather continue to pay than serve, despite the step toward equality which military service might mean. It also became obvious that the Turks wanted Christians to be equally liable to service so far as sharing the burdens and dangers went but balked at giving the Christians equal opportunity for promotion to the officer corps. Muslim Turks did not want to serve under native Christian officers. In theory the equal right to serve in the armed forces remained, but in fact the whole matter was quietly buried, and the old exemption tax reappeared under a different name. Both Turks and Christians were satisfied to see the inequality continue.³⁹

Another illustration of Turkish reactions is found in the experience of the considerable group of American Congregational missionaries in the empire. They reported in general a decrease in Muslim fanaticism and in interference with their work. One missionary who knew the country well observed that only the *ulema*, the Muslim theologians, kept up any semblance of old-style bigotry by the 1860's, and that merely in order to keep what influence they could among the people and "sponge" off the wealthy.⁴⁰ Another calculated

³⁸ See the story from Abdurrahman Şeref in Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi V*, p. 190; also Gad Franco, *Développements constitutionnels en Turquie* (Paris, 1925), p. 12.

³⁹ Dr. K., *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Serdar Ekrem Omer Pascha . . .* (Sarajevo, 1885), pp. 47, 252. Ömer served on this commission. For a sample of Turkish complaints on Christian exemption see Felix Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan* (Leipzig, 1875-79), III, 151.

⁴⁰ Henry J. Van Lennep, *Travels in Little-Known Parts of Asia Minor* (London, 1870), I,

that "before the Hatti-Humayoun [of 1856] there were more cases of persecution reported to us every week than there are now in a whole year."⁴¹ This situation continued until the new rise in Muslim sentiment with the recurrent crises of the 1870's.

But most of the proselytizing efforts of the Congregationalists, and most of their converts, were among the Armenians. Muslim opinion, therefore, was not directly touched. When, however, any case of apostasy from Islam was involved, public fury could easily be aroused. Governmental protection might be secured in such cases, especially in the capital, but the Turkish public was not willing to recognize equal opportunity of conversion in either direction despite the Porte's assurance that "the Musselman is now as free to become a Christian as the Christian is free to become a Musselman. The government will know no difference in the two cases."⁴² The outstanding case of a fanatical Muslim outburst over transfer of religious affiliation came in the Saloniki incident of 1876. A Bulgarian girl of dubious morals came to Saloniki from her native village to register with the authorities her conversion from Orthodoxy to Islam. When some Greeks of the city kidnapped her, apparently to prevent the transfer of allegiance, an angry Muslim mob sought her out. In the process the mob murdered the French and German consuls who had taken refuge, along with the Turkish governor, in a mosque. The incident occurred at a time when the empire was under great strain from the rebellions in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁴³

When the question of religious equality and conversion involved only competing Christian denominations, Ottoman officials were more likely to act to preserve fair play, and undoubtedly proclaimed equality with greater conviction and delight than when Muslims were involved. A classic example occurred in a town near Ankara following a local persecution of Protestants by Armenians. The governor investigated, and then sent forth a herald to cry: "It is commanded by the ruling authorities that all subjects cease to deride one another as Moslems and Rayahs, as Armenians and Protestants, since all are equally the dependent subjects of the royal government, and it is further commanded that mutually respecting and honoring one another, all shall dwell together in brotherly love."⁴⁴ In its way this pithy proclamation was a

118-19. Some of the *ulema* were bigoted and narrowly educated, but not all. Jevdet [Cevdet] is an outstanding example of one of the *ulema* of this period who was a staunch Muslim but no bigot.

⁴¹ Goodell to Anderson, Nov. 6, 1860, ABCFM, Vol. 284, no. 382. Much of the reported persecution was by other Christians, not Muslims.

⁴² The statement of a government commission investigating one of the rare cases of conversion from Islam to Christianity: Hamlin to Anderson, Sept. 5, 1857, ABCFM, Armenian Mission, V, no. 276.

⁴³ Documentary account of this in *Das Staatsarchiv*, XXX (1877), nos. 5733-58.

⁴⁴ Farnsworth to Board Secretaries, Sept. 21, 1865, ABCFM, Vol. 284, no. 331. *Râya* or

masterly summary of the official policy of equality among adherents of all creeds, of the concept of Ottoman citizenship, and of the antidefamation clause, revealing that the provincial governor understood perfectly what the central government had announced. That the civil authority should also command all men to live together in brotherly love was undoubtedly commendable—and unenforceable.

Another measure of Turkish attitudes on the question of Christian equality is provided by the views of participants in the conspiracy of 1859. The plot, directed against Abdul Medjid and his ministers, was betrayed to the authorities. Some forty-odd participants, many of them army officers and Muslim theological professors and students, were arrested. Interrogation revealed that through their rather fuzzy ideas there ran a general dissatisfaction with the Ottoman government, caused more by the proclamations of Christian equality than by any other single factor. The conspiracy's leading spirit and theoretician, one Sheikh [Şeyh] Ahmet, indicated that he regarded the reform edicts of 1839 and 1856 as contraventions of Muslim law, the *Şeriat*, because they allowed Christians equal rights with Muslims. According to the deposition of another conspirator, Sheikh Ahmet had been teaching in the *medrese* that the Christians got these privileges with the help of foreign powers.⁴⁵ The Kuleli incident, as this abortive conspiracy has since been known, provides a good index to widespread Turkish attitudes. It revealed an ill-defined resentment against the mere concept of equality, a conscious support of "religious law," and condemnation of the government both for its reform edicts and for its apparent submission to foreign influence.⁴⁶ The doctrine of equality seemed bad if for no other reason than that it proclaimed to be equal adherents of religions that were not equal. And *Osmanlılık*, as a purely political concept of the allegiance of peoples of all creeds to a ruler who treated them equally, was unreal, because the traditional concept of "Osmanlı" had always carried strong implications of Muslim orthodoxy as well as of loyalty to the Ottoman state.

Any sample of Turkish opinion in the Tanzimat period must include the one group which was forward-looking, politically conscious, constantly vocal, and therefore influential out of proportion to its small size. This was

reaya was the customary term for the tributary non-Muslim peoples of the empire, and originally meant "cattle" or "flocks." Presumably the Hatt-i Humayun banned this term also.

⁴⁵ The conspiracy is analyzed on the basis of documentary evidence, chiefly the interrogation reports, in Uluğ İğdemir, *Kuleli Vakası Hakkında bir Araştırma* [An Investigation of the Kuleli Affair] (Ankara, 1937). The *medrese* is a school for instruction in Muslim law and theology.

⁴⁶ The whole reform program was of course often condemned as contrary to religious law by men whose interest was not at all in the *Şeriat* but only in their vested interests in sources of power and income. Such were numerous officials, tax-farmers, moneylenders, etc.

the New Ottoman Committee, composed principally of writers and would-be reformers who for a short time in the late 1860's coalesced into the nearest approximation to a political party that existed in the empire. Its members were an extraordinary collection of individualists. They quarreled among themselves but were united in their ardent desire to preserve the Ottoman Empire. This group has often been called the "Young Turks." Its members were, in fact, the spiritual fathers of the true Young Turks of 1908, and the spiritual grandfathers of the Turks who created the nationalist republic of today. From their writings the later development of a genuinely "Turkish" consciousness derived great impetus. But by preference the leaders of this group of the 1860's called themselves the New Ottomans [*Yeni Osmanlılar*]. The name is a good indication of their outlook.

The New Ottomans represented a more deeply felt patriotism, a devotion to *Osmanlılık* as they conceived it, than such statesmen as Ali and Fuad were hoping to inculcate. New Ottoman patriotism meant an equal co-operation of peoples of all creeds in a devoted effort to preserve the empire, but opposition to any special concessions to Christians. The New Ottomans believed that the empire could be reformed and revived within the framework of Muslim tradition and religious law, which they thought was sound enough, and progressive and elastic enough, to allow also the adaptation of new institutions from Europe. Most of them seem also to have believed in Muslim Turkish superiority among the united peoples of a united empire. Sometimes, therefore, their writings seem self-contradictory. Ali Suavi, probably the most extravagant and fanatic Muslim among them, could write that "all the populations composing the Ottoman Empire today form only one nationality: the Osmanli."⁴⁷ Mustafa Fazil Pasha, an Egyptian prince of broad views who was for a time leader of the New Ottomans because his financial resources supported the group, said in a public statement for them that "it does not matter whether one is Muslim, Catholic, or Greek Orthodox to be able to place the public welfare ahead of private interests. For that it suffices to be a man of progress or a good patriot."⁴⁸ In a bold letter to Abdul Aziz, he contended that the Christian revolts in the empire were but a symptom of a malady—backwardness and bad government—that afflicted the uncomplaining Muslims even more than the Christians. The line of division ran, said Mustafa Fazil, only between oppressors and oppressed, not between Christian and Muslim.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ali Suavi, *A propos de l'Herzégovine* (Paris, 1875), p. 16.

⁴⁸ Letter of Feb. 5, 1867, in *Le Nord* (Brussels), Feb. 7, 1867.

⁴⁹ S. A. le Prince Mustapha-Fazyl Pacha, *Lettre adressée à S.M. le Sultan* (n.p., n.d.) [presumably March, 1867], pp. 1-11.

This emphasis on Ottoman patriotism, on preservation of the fatherland from internal decay and external attack, led the New Ottomans to voice retroactive approval of the Hatt-i Sherif of 1839, since in their view Reshid Pasha had with the Gülhane edict started the empire on the road to progress and self-preservation. But they tended to regard the Hatt-i Humayun of 1856 and most of the subsequent acts of the Porte as harmful, seeing in them concessions to Christians in response to pressures exerted by great powers and by domestic rebellion. This, in the New Ottoman view, led to inequality, not equality. Namik Kemal, the most admirable of the group, castigated the Porte and the powers for enumerating the privileges of Christians in the edict of 1856 when, he said, there should rather have been progress toward constitutional government and the elimination of foreign intervention.⁵⁰ Namik Kemal here reflected a view common to many Turks which led them to argue against reform programs proposed by European powers for particular peoples or provinces of the empire, such as the proposals for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1875-76, by saying that these measures represented special privilege, injustice to Muslims, and therefore inequality.⁵¹

In 1867, the year when New Ottoman criticism of the government forced many of the group into European exile, Ali and Fuad were unmercifully excoriated for making concessions to the Cretan rebels and for agreeing, under pressure, that the last Turks would evacuate Belgrade. Again the New Ottomans raised the point that this was inequality, that Muslims in Belgrade and Crete were being unfairly treated.⁵² Obviously the weakness of the Sublime Porte in the face of European pressures only increased the exasperation of the New Ottomans over the inequities of the situation. Ziya, next to Namik Kemal the most influential of the New Ottoman writers, expressed the common complaint that equality could never be attained so long as Christians within the empire could have recourse not only to the Ottoman government, and to their *millet* representatives, but also to foreign protectors. For example, said Ziya, if a guilty Christian is jailed, he is suddenly released without cause because some one influential has intervened. But if an innocent

⁵⁰ In *Hürriyet*, no. 4 (July 20, 1868), reproduced in Ihsan Sungu, "Tanzimat ve Yeni Osmanlılar" [The Tanzimat and the New Ottomans], in *Tanzimat*, I, 795-96. Sungu's chapter, pp. 777-857 in this volume, is almost entirely a collection of newspaper articles by Namik Kemal and Ziya on questions of the day.

⁵¹ See, for example, the "Manifesto of the Muslim Patriots," of Mar. 9, 1876, probably written by Midhat or one of his entourage: *Le Stamboul*, June 2, 1876.

⁵² In their newspaper *Muhbir*, date of issue not given; translation in FO 195/893, no. 120, Mar. 25, 1868, PRO. In his poem, the "Zafer-name," Ziya uses heavy irony to attack Ali on the same issues of Crete and Belgrade. He further proclaims acidly that Ali has brought the equality of rights to perfection not only by such concessions but by appointing Greeks and Armenians to high office. English translation and Turkish text of about half the poem are in Elias J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900-1909), V, 96-111, and VI, 370-78.

Muslim fall into the toils of justice and be imprisoned without cause, who is there to help him? "Is this equality?" he asks bitterly.⁵³

V

In the face of such attitudes, the realization of Ottoman equality, involving the equality of Muslims and Christians, faced extraordinary difficulties.⁵⁴ Though Reshid, Ali, Fuad, and Midhat hoped to find salvation for the empire by creating among its peoples the bond of equal citizenship based on Ottoman nationality, the obstacles they faced were too great and the time too late. The Turkish mind, conditioned by centuries of Muslim and Ottoman dominance, was not yet ready to accept any absolute equality, much less to endorse the grant of particular privileges to Christians. And the Christian minorities of the empire continued to push toward separatism. Despite the various steps taken toward it, Ottoman equality was not attained in the Tanzimat period, nor yet after the Young Turk revolution of 1908 when, for a few wild and enthusiastic days, Ottoman brotherhood seemed to have arrived with the end of Abdul Hamid's personal rule and the resurrection of Midhat's constitution of 1876. Then, after this short emotional spree, competing nationalisms again crowded out the concept of *Osmanlılık*. This was true not only among the Christians of the empire but now among the Muslims as well. While Arab nationalism developed, like the Christian nationalisms, as a reaction to Ottoman Turkish control, the Turks themselves found the source for a nationalism of their own in the *Osmanlılık* of the Tanzimat, especially in the more patriotic version of Namik Kemal and other New Ottomans.

In the end, the sort of Ottoman equality at which the Tanzimat statesmen aimed, though it had never been given a full and fair trial, was discredited as an idea both among Muslims and among Christians. Instead of the equality of Christian and Muslim within a heterogeneous empire, based on "fusion" and "brotherhood," there emerged finally a different sort—the corporate equality of competing national sovereign states.

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⁵³ In *Hürriyet*, no. 15 (Oct. 5, 1868), reproduced in Sungu, p. 797.

⁵⁴ There were of course many obstacles to the realization of a doctrine of equality other than those discussed here as "attitudes." One of the most important, especially as it affected the relations of Christian and Muslim in the Balkans, was the system of land tenure, with resulting social and economic inequalities and groups which had a vested interest in maintaining them. A good analysis of this situation in a part of the Balkans in the period up to 1850 is Halil İnalcık, *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi* [The Tanzimat and the Bulgar Question] (Ankara, 1943).

Freemanship in Puritan Massachusetts

B. KATHERINE BROWN

ARISTOCRACY, oligarchy, theocracy—these are the terms modern writers generally choose to characterize Puritan government in early Massachusetts. It was an undemocratic society, they tell us, from the beginning in 1629 until the arbitrary Governor Andros took over in 1686. The colony was divided into political classes—the minority who could vote ruled the majority who could not. The minority, the freemen, were those who, since they belonged to the established Puritan church, were eligible to take the oath of freedom and were thus permitted to enjoy all political privileges in the Commonwealth. The freemen, they say, comprised only about one fifth of the adult male population and were in general the most substantial citizens. They were hostile to every democratic tendency, so the story goes, and were jealous of their social position in the class-conscious society of the early Bay Colony.¹

When we examine these secondary accounts more closely, we find many fundamental inconsistencies and contradictions, both between authorities and within individual interpretations. Such inconsistencies and contradictions cast a strong shadow of doubt on the accuracy of the accepted story.

For example, historians disagree on the extent of democracy in one basic part of the political structure—the town meeting. V. L. Parrington declares that Puritan town meetings were not democratic,² while J. D. Hicks believes the local government was democratic from the very beginning.³ C. M. Andrews does not agree with either of these writers. Although a small body of freemen controlled all political affairs until 1648, he says, after that time every man who had taken the oath of fidelity and was twenty-four years old could

¹ Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1930), I, 21; John D. Hicks, *The Federal Union* (Boston, 1937), p. 29; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Puritan Oligarchy* (New York, 1947), p. viii; Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (New Haven, 1934), I, 443; George H. Haynes, *History of Representation and Suffrage in Massachusetts, 1620-1691* (Baltimore, 1894), p. 16; Perry Miller, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 243-44; Oliver Perry Chitwood, *A History of Colonial America* (New York, 1931), pp. 140, 141. Some of the earlier historians did not picture early Massachusetts as a class-ridden oligarchy. See for example, Mellen Chamberlain, "Remarks . . .," in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d series, VII (Boston, 1891-92), 241-42, and Charles F. Adams, "Genesis of the Massachusetts Towns," *ibid.*, VII, 207-10.

² Parrington, I, 21; see also James T. Adams, *The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1921), p. 152.

³ Hicks, p. 57; also Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (New York, 1950), I, 56.

vote and offer motions or petitions in town meetings.⁴ Still another authority is at odds with Andrews' interpretation. Samuel Eliot Morison believes that the percentage of church members and voters in early Massachusetts was quite high but that by 1670 the franchise was limited to about one fourth of the adult males.⁵ It is difficult to understand how four major authorities could hold such different views about one vital point in Puritan government.

Not only are there major disagreements between authorities but there are also important inconsistencies within specific accounts. Parrington, for example, succeeds in thoroughly confusing the conflict between the deputies, who were freemen, and the magistrates, who were also freemen, with the supposed struggle of the unenfranchised to gain some political power.⁶ It is obvious that the two controversies cannot be mixed: the one concerned a struggle within the "oligarchy" and the other between the oligarchy and an outside force. And as a result of his confusing the two disputes, Parrington sometimes calls the deputies, who were freemen of course and therefore full-fledged members of the oligarchy, "representatives of the people."⁷

J. T. Adams, too, confuses the conflict *within* the oligarchy with a supposed opposition *to* the oligarchy. "It is clear," he wrote, "that real grievances and the democratic influences at work in the town meeting were likely to develop into attacks upon the arbitrary power of the very limited body of freemen. The form that the struggle assumed was that of a contest, lasting twenty years, between the deputies and the magistrates, with the clergy constantly on the side of the latter." Later in the same work, Adams, like Parrington, claims that the deputies represented public opinion rather than the oligarchy.⁸

Furthermore, Adams contradicts himself by stressing first the strong opposition to the oligarchy throughout the period and then calmly concluding that no real opposition existed. In the beginning, he says, one of the two major elements in the political history of Massachusetts under the old charter was "the struggle of a part of the colonists themselves, for toleration and liberty, against the governing class." Owing to the church-membership restriction for voting, "the unenfranchised class was so large, and the disadvantage under which it labored was so palpably unjust, that the demand for reform was growing steadily louder."⁹ But Adams then startles the reader by concluding that after all the ordinary man in early Massachusetts probably cared no more about government than the ordinary man elsewhere.

⁴ Andrews, I, 459-60.

⁵ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 340-41.

⁶ Parrington, I, 16-50, *passim*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸ Adams, *Founding of New England*, pp. 154-55, 257.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56, 253.

In fact, at a little later period, the more accurate election returns would seem to indicate that he then cared even less. The small minority that ran the government and the churches was naturally active and vocal. But the fact that four fifths of the people were reasonably content to join no church, and to have no voice in the government, certainly does not argue, in that time and place, any very high degree of political, religious, or intellectual interest as compared with the rest of America.¹⁰

Such somersaults in logic are a bit alarming when they concern a basic interpretation. Was there a "struggle" or wasn't there?

C. M. Andrews, makes an even more serious error by building his interpretation of the Puritan period on an admitted lack of evidence. In time, Andrews points out, four classes appeared in Puritan Massachusetts society: (1) the freemen, "always a minority in every town and in the colony as a whole"; (2) the church members who never offered to become freemen; (3) the inhabitants who were neither freemen nor church members "but who had taken the oath of fidelity and therefore were in accord with the general purpose and aims of the colony"; and finally (4) those who were neither freemen nor church members and so were "in the colony but not of it." "It is impossible," he continues, "to conjecture, even roughly, what were the relative sizes of these four groups." But he promptly does the impossible: the third group was the largest, the second the smallest, and "the fourth the only one, the loyalty of which to Puritan principles can be seriously questioned."¹¹ In other words, three of the four groups, or a majority, were in sympathy with Puritan aims. But a few pages later Andrews characterizes Massachusetts from 1634 on as undemocratic, as a society in which "a privileged class was in command, whose deputies in no way represented the colony as a whole."¹² If it were impossible to estimate "even roughly" the number of freemen in the colony, how could Andrews conclude that Massachusetts was highly undemocratic?

From these conflicting and contradictory reports, it would seem that we need to know more about freemanship in Puritan Massachusetts before we can say with any certainty how democratic or undemocratic the colony really was. Who could be a freeman, who wanted to be a freeman, and how limited was the franchise? The answers to these questions will tell us a great deal about Puritan society.

Freemanship in Massachusetts rested first on a corporation or company charter granted to the company in England in 1629 and later on laws passed in the colony. The charter provided for a general court or meeting of company officials and stockholders to make laws governing company affairs.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

¹¹ Andrews, I, 437-38.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 443.

Among the powers of the general court was that of admitting new members, or freemen, to the privileges of the company. In the colony, the charter was used as a constitution for a civil government rather than merely a business corporation, and freemen who were admitted to the company became citizens with political privileges. Rules governing the admission of new freemen, or citizens, were altered from time to time by the general court. What these new rules were and how they were put into practice will show much about the number of freemen.

The first major change in the rules for admitting freemen, and the basis for the interpretation that early Massachusetts was undemocratic, came in 1631. The general court passed an order that no man should be admitted to freemanship but such as were members of some of the churches in Massachusetts.¹³ It has been assumed that only the few were church members, and consequently only the few could be freemen. Perry Miller, for example, stresses that the law was put over on the people by a few aristocratic leaders, leaders who aimed at retaining their position.¹⁴ The extent to which this law limited the number of freemen and therefore restricted democracy is the heart of our problem.

Although evidence is scanty on the exact number of church members at this period, there is some indication that the first settlers were mostly orthodox in their religious beliefs and therefore might well have approved a law restricting freemanship to church members. An official company letter dated April 17, 1629, outlined how carefully all those in the company's service were screened in religious beliefs. Colony officials were warned that, if in spite of care to purge the unorthodox, some "libertines" were found, they should be punished and corrected or be returned to England.¹⁵

Another way to determine the contemporary popularity of the 1631 law is to find out who was responsible for putting over the restriction. Records show that in October, 1630, over one hundred men "desired" to be made freemen. At the next court meeting, May 18, 1631, the records list those who were "made" freemen, many of whom were on the 1630 list.¹⁶ The problem then is whether these men were admitted to freemanship before the church restriction law was passed, or whether the law was put over on the people by a few leaders.

Edward Johnson, one of those made free in 1631, stated clearly that the first group of men were made freemen before the law was passed restricting

¹³ *Records of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, 1628-1686*, ed. N. B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853-54), I, 87. Hereafter this work will be cited as *Mass. Records*.

¹⁴ Miller, *Orthodoxy in Mass.*, pp. 243-44.

¹⁵ *Mass. Records*, I, 393.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 79-80, 366-67.

freemanship to church members. "At this Court," he wrote, "many of the first Planters came and were made free, yet afterward none were admitted to this fellowship, or freedome, but such as were first joyned in fellowship with some one of the Churches of Christ. . . ."¹⁷ Since Johnson was present at both the 1630 and 1631 meetings and wrote his history only twenty years later, his story might well be accurate. Thomas Hutchinson, who probably had access to more contemporary documents than any other Massachusetts historian, agreed with Johnson.¹⁸

Other evidence that the 1631 law was put over *by* and not *on* the people is found in the wording of the early records. Descriptions of the first general court meetings picture a democratic, not a "patriarchial undertaking," as described by Parrington.¹⁹ In the first court of October, 1630, the proposal that the "freemen" should have the power of choosing the assistants was "fully assented unto" by a general vote of "the people."²⁰ And at the next general court, May 18, 1631, the above law was explained and elaborated and the church restriction order added "with the full consent of all the comons" then present.²¹ The "comons" apparently meant the people in general, for John Winthrop tells us that on May 17, 1631, "all the freemen of the commons were sworn to this government."²² Had there been a struggle about adoption of the order restricting the franchise at this meeting, we might assume Winthrop would have mentioned it in his *Journal*.

If these first Massachusetts settlers were orthodox Puritans in general and if the law was passed after the freemen of the commons were admitted, we can hardly conclude that the law was put over on the people by a few aristocratic leaders to keep the government in their own hands.

By 1635 the colony of Massachusetts had outlined the basic franchise rules that were to be followed until the year 1647, the date of the next major change in voting procedure. The oath required of all freemen for participation in political activities was put into final form in 1634.²³ And on September 3, 1635, the court ordered that none but freemen should have any vote in town affairs, although nonfreemen were allowed to vote for military officers.²⁴ In this early period, then, only freemen could legally vote and hold office in town and province government.

While the famous *Body of Liberties* of 1641 did not directly alter the

¹⁷ Edward Johnson, *The Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England* (1628-1651), ed. William F. Poole (Andover, Mass., 1867), p. 66.

¹⁸ Thomas Hutchinson, *History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed. L. S. Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), I, 24-25.

¹⁹ *Main Currents*, I, 20.

²⁰ *Mass. Records*, I, 79.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 87.

²² *Winthrop's Journal, 1630-1649*, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York, 1908), I, 63.

²³ *Mass. Records*, I, 117.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 161, 188.

franchise, some minor changes favoring nonfreemen can be seen in this first compilation of Massachusetts laws. Where originally the general court had declared that it alone could admit freemen, now this right was given also to the county courts. In addition, every man "whether Inhabitant or fforreiner, free or not free" was allowed to attend any court, council, or public meeting and propose measures if it were done "in convenient time, due order, and respective manner."²⁵ But the *Body of Liberties* did not specifically allow nonfreemen to vote or hold office.

If, legally, only freemen could participate in politics, two questions must be answered: (1) how well was the law enforced, since we know that laws do not always represent actual conditions, and (2) approximately what portion of the adult males were freemen before 1647?

Records of the town meetings show that in many Massachusetts towns during this early period "inhabitants" as well as legal freemen came to the meetings and voted. In Dorchester, for instance, the town scribe recorded that by "An agreement made by the whole consent and vote of the Plantation" on October 8, 1633, there would be a "generall meeting of the inhabitants of the Plantation att the meeteing house" every Monday before the general court to elect town selectmen.²⁶ Furthermore, in 1645 when the town composed "The Directory"—a set of rules to govern town affairs—the terms inhabitant and freemen were used interchangeably, and there is no indication in this town constitution of a cleavage between freemen and nonfreemen.²⁷

In Boston too, the language in the town records implies that most men were included in the meetings. For example, the record of May 13, 1639 began: "Att a Generall Meeting upon particular or private Generall notice givinge from house to house." And at this meeting both deputies to the general court and new selectmen were elected.²⁸ If the number of people participating in these town meetings had been very limited, the notice would probably not have been given from house to house. Furthermore, it was the "townesmen" who made the town rates and divided the town's land—privileges supposedly reserved for freemen only.²⁹

The language of the Salem and Woburn town records are also definite

²⁵ *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts, Reprinted from the Edition of 1660, with the Supplements to 1672, Containing also, The Body of Liberties of 1641* (Boston, 1889), pp. 24, 35. Hereafter this work will be referred to as *Mass. Laws of 1660*.

²⁶ *Dorchester Town Records*, in *Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston* (Boston, 1883), IV, 3.

²⁷ *Dorchester Town Records*, pp. 289–91.

²⁸ *Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston*, II, 41. Hereafter this work will be cited as *Boston Town Records*.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 57–58.

about nonfreemen as well as freemen coming to the meetings and voting. Woburn elected its first selectmen in 1644 "with the general consent of all the freemen and other inhabitants then present."³⁰ And in 1646 Salem agreed "that all the town's men and freemen" should meet every second day for four weeks together to consider the public good of the town.³¹ Language of this type in the contemporary records suggests that the 1631 law was not so restrictive after all.

Another method of determining real practices in town government is to compare the names of town selectmen with the official list of freemen. In spite of the law, town selectmen were not always freemen in the legal sense. A few weeks after the order was passed permitting only freemen to vote in town affairs, Watertown records read: "Agreed by the Consent of the Freemen that these 11 freemen shall order all the Civill Affaires for the Towne for the yeare following, & to divide the Lands." Then the record named the eleven "freemen."³² Checking these names with the list of freemen shows that four of the eleven were not legal freemen at the time. Two of the four were made freemen about eight months later on May 25, 1636, and the remaining two never did appear on the official list.³³ It would seem, then, that (1) Watertown elected some nonfreemen to office before they were made free, and (2) the term "freeman" probably was used by the people of that day in two meanings—either to indicate a legal freeman, a church member who had taken the freeman's oath, or to indicate a man not in bondage, not a servant or a slave. Apparently the Watertown scribe was using "freeman" in the latter and more popular sense.

Like Watertown, other Massachusetts towns elected nonfreemen to office. In Dorchester, five of the twelve selectmen plus the bailiff chosen on October 2, 1636, were not on the list of freemen.³⁴ This is also true of three of the ten Dorchester selectmen in 1637, and five of the ten selectmen in 1638.³⁵ Boston elected one "Wm. Tyng" deputy in 1639 and selectman in 1644, but Tyng cannot be found on the official list.³⁶ And in 1645, one of the Boston selectmen and one of the constables—Thomas Fowle and William Frankling—were not freemen.³⁷ Woburn chose freemen for its selectmen in

³⁰ Samuel Sewall, *The History of Woburn, Middlesex County, Mass.* (Boston, 1868), p. 24.

³¹ Quoted in Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem* (Salem, Mass., 1845), I, 350.

³² *Watertown Records* . . . (Watertown, Mass., 1894), I, 2.

³³ *Boston Town Records*, XXIX, 133, 134, 136, 137.

³⁴ *Dorchester Town Records*, p. 19. The nonfreemen's names were Mr. Glouer, Henry Withington, John Hollman, Cristofer Gibson, Mr. Joanes, and the bailiff, Joseph Flood. Two of these, Gibson and a Mr. Ralfe Glouer, are listed on the 1630 list of men who desired freemanship but are not on the official list of freemen in 1631. See *Mass. Records*, I, 80, 366-79.

³⁵ *Dorchester Town Records*, pp. 24, 35; *Mass. Records*, I, 366 ff.

³⁶ *Boston Town Records*, II, 46, 79; *Mass. Records*, I, 366-79; II, 291-95.

³⁷ *Boston Town Records*, II, 84, 86; *Mass. Records*, I, 366-79; II, 291-95.

1644, but two of the three surveyors of highways elected that year were non-freemen.³⁸

Studying the official lists answers some questions for us, but also it brings up a number of problems. Why, for instance, did Mr. Richard Bellingham, John Winthrop, Sr., John Humfry, Thomas Dudley, William Coddington, Increase Nowell, and Symon Bradstreet wait until May 25, 1636, to take the freeman's oath? Certainly these men were active in politics well before that date. According to John Cotton, Mr. Humfry was made an assistant in London before coming to the colony but had not joined a church in the colony yet "by reason of the unsettledness of the congregation" where he lived.³⁹ This explains Humfry's negligence in becoming a legal freeman, but what about the other six political leaders? Could it be that the line between freeman and nonfreeman was not so rigid as the law implies?

Another question brought up by studying the lists of freemen concerns the completeness of the lists as we know them today. When a Watertown selectman, a nonfreeman, was chosen eight months or more before his name appeared on the list, the man obviously was not a legal freeman at the time of his election. But what of the many other selectmen whose names never do appear on the lists? Were they actually never freemen or could it be that the official lists are not complete?

There is some evidence indicating that not all the names of the freemen were recorded. In 1637 when the colony was torn with dissension over the unorthodox religious opinions of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a number of her sympathizers were disfranchised by the general court. Two of those men, Mr. John Wheeleright and Sergeant Boston, were never enfranchised if being listed among the freemen was necessary.⁴⁰ And why, for instance, was one Mr. William Jennison listed on the 1630 list of those *desiring* freedom but not listed on the 1631 list of freemen admitted? And yet, in 1635 Watertown named him one of the freemen elected as a selectman.⁴¹ Perhaps future study will clarify this problem.

Still another means of discovering the limitations of freemanship in this period is to find out what social classes were represented by the freemen. Were they from the upper rungs of the social ladder only—the wealthy, the educated, the gentlemen—or could anyone become a freeman?

³⁸ Sewall, *Woburn*, p. 25; *Mass. Records*, I, 366–79; II, 291–95. Ralph Hill, possibly one of the surveyors, was made free, May 26, 1647, three years later.

³⁹ See John Cotton, "Letter of Cotton to Lord Say & Seal" (1636), in Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay . . .* (London, 1760 [i.e., 1765]), Appendix, p. 498.

⁴⁰ *Mass. Records*, I, 207, 366–79.

⁴¹ *Boston Town Records*, XXIX, 133; *Watertown Records*, I, 2.

The records again provide the answer: in the earliest days of the Puritan government, when, in theory, freemanship was limited to the few, the jump from servant to freeman was short and easy. In Boston, for example, in 1639, one Francis Dowse, "servant to our brother George Burdon," was allowed an inhabitant and became a freeman a year and a half later.⁴² Another example was Thomas Joanes. On May 3, 1642, the general court gave Joanes, "servant to Willi: Rich'dson," liberty to dispose of himself. Four years later Thomas Joanes was made a freeman.⁴³ One Thomas Reeves, who was set free by the court in May, 1644, was made a freeman in May, 1645.⁴⁴ As a final instance, on October 28, 1639, the town of Boston granted a house plot to John Robinson, "late servant to our brother Mr. Newgate."⁴⁵ This former servant became a freeman June 2, 1641.⁴⁶

A detailed check of two servants gives more insight into how rapid the climb from servant to freeman could be in the early Bay Colony. In 1632 the general court ordered two of Israell Stoughton's servants, Alexander Miller and John Wipple, to pay their master for their wasteful use of powder and shot.⁴⁷ Since Israell Stoughton was a Dorchester resident, the Dorchester town records furnish us additional material on his two helpers. On September 1, 1634, the town granted "Alexander Miller servant to Mr. Stoughton" three acres of land. In 1635 he was granted three more acres and four years later he was listed among the "inhabitants" in the division of town lands. On May 2, 1638, he was made a freeman. In other words, it took a little more than two years for wayward servant Miller to become a freeholder and four more years to become a freeman.⁴⁸ The record of servant John Wipple is similar but he was not made a freeman until 1640.⁴⁹

There is other evidence, too, that freemanship in this early period was not restricted to any one social and economic stratum. John Martin, a Boston shipcarpenter, and John Palmer, a Boston carpenter, became freemen soon after becoming inhabitants in the town.⁵⁰ Carpenters would not generally be considered among the exclusive set in Puritan society. On the other hand, Winthrop noted that one Briscoe of Watertown, "a rich man, a tanner," lost £200 worth of goods when his barn burned down. Briscoe was not a church member, not a freeman, and in 1643 wrote a pamphlet objecting to support of the

⁴² *Boston Town Records*, II, 45; *Mass. Records*, I, 379.

⁴³ *Mass. Records*, II, 4, 294.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 67, 294.

⁴⁵ *Boston Town Records*, II, 43.

⁴⁶ *Mass. Records*, I, 378.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 100.

⁴⁸ *Dorchester Town Records*, pp. 7, 10, 30, 37; *Mass. Records*, I, 374.

⁴⁹ *Dorchester Town Records*, pp. 27, 76, 140; *Mass. Records*, II, 376.

⁵⁰ *Boston Town Records*, II, 22, 51; *Mass. Records*, I, 376, 378.

minister by taxation.⁵¹ Obviously when an ordinary carpenter could be a freeman, and a rich man, not a freeman, could live in Massachusetts and even object to the local administration, freemanship was not socially nor economically restrictive.

Perhaps the most conclusive evidence that freemanship was not limited to gentlemen nor to any one social class is to be seen by the following description of a freeman. On May 26, 1647, Mighill Smith was made a freeman according to the official list, and on that same date appeared this statement: "It is ordered, y^t y^e fine of Mighill Smith, for his puting in of three beanes at once for one mans election, it being done in simplicity, & he being pore & of an harmles disposition, it is ord^ded his fine is suspended till furth^r ord^d from y^e Gen^lall Co^rte."⁵² Freeman Smith surely was not from the top rung of the Puritan social ladder.

As to the actual number of freemen in the colony at this time, contemporary opinion varied, but the scale weighed heaviest on the democratic side. Thomas Lechford, a Church of England man who came to Massachusetts in 1638, offered contradictory evidence. At one point, he complained that many men were excluded from freemanship. Wrote Lechford: "Now the most of the persons at *New-England* are not admitted of their Church, and therefore are not *Freemen*. . . ."⁵³ At another time, however, he declared that Massachusetts was a good country and yielded many products "if that popular elections destroy us not."⁵⁴ On the other hand, Nathaniel Ward, author of the *Body of Liberties*, believed the freemen were too numerous and held too much power. In his oft-quoted letter of 1639 to John Winthrop, he asked:

That you would please to advise throughly with the counsell, whether it will not be of ill consequence to send the Court business to the common consideration of the freemen. I feare it will too much exauctorate the power of that Court to prostrate matters in that manner. I suspect both Commonwealth & Churches have discended to lowe already; I see the spirits of people runne high & what they gett they hould. They may not be denyed their proper & lawfull liberties, but I question whether it be of God to interest the inferiour sort in that which should be reserved *inter optimates penes quos est sancire leges*.⁵⁵

It is of significance that Ward was concerned over the great power and low social status of the freemen, not the nonfreemen. The fact that he used "peo-

⁵¹ *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 88, 91.

⁵² *Mass. Records*, II, 189.

⁵³ Thomas Lechford, *Plain Dealing: or, Newes from New-England* (London, 1642), reprinted in *Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 3d series, III (Cambridge, Mass., 1833), 81.

⁵⁴ Thomas Lechford, *Note-book, 1638-1641*, ed. Edward E. Hales (Cambridge, Mass., 1885), p. 287.

⁵⁵ Letter of Nathaniel Ward to John Winthrop, in Thomas F. Waters, *Ipswich In the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Ipswich, Mass., 1905), Appendix C, p. 505.

ple" synonymously with "freemen" implies broad suffrage. Furthermore, the general court seemed to agree with Ward when it declared in 1641 that better order was needed in elections because the freemen had grown "to so great a multitude as wilbee overburthensome to the country."⁵⁶

According to figures given by Samuel Eliot Morison, the actual percentage of freemanship in this period was quite high. He cites a 1638-1640 list of Roxbury householders containing sixty-nine men of whom fifty-eight were church members and voters.⁵⁷ In other words, eighty-four per cent or about five to one of the men in the town of Roxbury were freemen. This is quite the opposite of the figure usually given.

While most authorities follow Lechford and assume that men wanted freemanship but could not attain it and consequently label Puritan society as undemocratic, there is evidence that many men avoided freemanship because of the duties and obligations which freemanship entailed. In 1643 the general court ordered "concerning members that refuse to take their freedom, the churches should bee writ unto, to deale wth them."⁵⁸ And a few years later, Edward Winslow, Massachusetts agent in England, declared that in every town there were many freemen but there were also many who were not free by choice. If they were understanding men and able to be helpful, he explained, it was primarily their own fault. They avoided freemanship because of the responsibilities involved.⁵⁹ This certainly gives a different connotation to nonfreemanship in the colony. Obviously the freemen wanted to include, not exclude, more men in the suffrage, and many men were non-freemen by choice, not by necessity.

Freemen, too, were primarily responsible for events which led up to the 1647 law giving nonfreemen equal rights with freemen in town government. In 1644, according to Winthrop, a proposal was made in the general court "for all the English within the united colonies to enter into a civil agreement for the maintenance of religion and our civil liberties, and for yielding some more of the freeman's privileges to such as were no church members that should join in this government." Nothing was concluded on the matter, however, but letters were written to the other colonies to advise with them about it.⁶⁰ The freemen, it seems, wanted all the help they could muster in the face of threatened trouble with the Dutch and Indians. Two years later, in 1646, the general court drew up a law "allowing non-freemen equal power

⁵⁶ *Mass. Records*, I, 333.

⁵⁷ Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, Appendix, pp. 340-41.

⁵⁸ *Mass. Records*, II, 38.

⁵⁹ Edward Winslow, "New-Englands Salamander Discovered," in *Collections Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 3d series, II (Cambridge, 1830), 137, 139.

⁶⁰ *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 163-64.

with the freemen in all town affairs, and to some freemen of such estate, etc., their votes in election of magistrates." But near the end of this court session and before the law was passed, a controversial petition to enlarge the franchise was presented by Dr. Robert Childe and action on the law as well as the petition was referred to the next meeting.⁶¹

The petition by Dr. Robert Childe and six others, which delayed the court's action on enlarging rights of nonfreemen, demanded more civil and religious rights for Church of England men in the colony and threatened to apply to parliament for help if their demands were not granted. The petition asked that the court give liberty to members of the Church of England to be taken into Massachusetts congregations "to enjoy with you all those liberties and ordinances Christ hath purchased for them," and also that "Civil liberty and freedome be forthwith granted to all truly *English*, equall to the rest of their Country-men." These requests were not unreasonable, but the petition did not stop there. It insinuated that Massachusetts was dangerously independent of England and concluded with a threat that if their demands were not heeded, the petitioners would appeal to parliament, "who we hope will take our sad conditions into their serious considerations."⁶²

Given the already increasing sentiment in the colony for enlarging the franchise, Dr. Childe's petition might not have occasioned so much disturbance had it not contained a definite threat to apply over the heads of Massachusetts leaders to parliament if the general court refused Childe's requests. This threat was a direct challenge to the entire position of the Puritan colony and to every freeman there.

In the upheaval following this challenge and in the contemporary writings about it, it becomes clear that the petition was not merely a move by the unenfranchised to gain more political freedom. It was a move originally agitated by one of the patentees, Mr. William Vassal, who came over in 1630 and who was dissatisfied with the Massachusetts government.⁶³ The seven signers of the Childe petition were a mixture of freemen and nonfreemen: Mr. Samuel Maverick of Salem was a freeman,⁶⁴ Mr. Thomas Fowle was a Boston leader but not a freeman, and three others according to Winslow were mere strangers and had no property within the government.⁶⁵ One of the petitions to parliament later confiscated by the general court was signed

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, II, 271-72.

⁶² Major John Childe, *New-Englands Jonas Cast up at London . . .* (London, 1647), reprinted in Peter Force, *Tracts and Other Papers . . .* (Washington, 1836), IV, No. 3, pp. 11-13.

⁶³ *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 271; William Hubbard, *General History of New England* (1680), ed. T. M. Harris, in *Collections Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 2d series, V, VI (Boston, 1848), 499-500.

⁶⁴ *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 316.

⁶⁵ Winslow, "New-Englands Salamander Discovered," p. 123.

by twenty-five nonfreemen, "(pretending to be in the name, and upon the sighs and tears, of many thousands)." But, according to Winthrop, most of these men were Marblehead fishermen, some of whom had come from Newfoundland the previous year, or young men servants who had little religion in them.⁶⁶

The Childe petition failed, but the next general court nevertheless passed a law in 1647 extending the freemen's privileges to nonfreemen in town affairs. Any inhabitant of twenty-four years of age, the law said, who had taken the oath of fidelity (required of all male residents) could be on the jury, could vote in town meetings and could be elected a selectman. The only restriction in town affairs was the requirement that a major part of the town selectmen be freemen.⁶⁷ From this time on, then, the law sanctioned a broad-based local franchise and only in province elections did the church restriction clause of 1631 apply.

Although for over a decade after 1647 there was a letdown in the pressure for additional change in the franchise, during this period there appears a sharper division between freemen and nonfreemen. The *Massachusetts Laws of 1648*, unlike the *Body of Liberties* in 1641, sharply divided the freemen from nonfreemen.⁶⁸ And some of the town records show more definite distinction between the two groups. In 1653, for example, the Dorchester town records clearly warned all "freemen" to meet for choice of magistrates and all "the planters inhabtance" to meet for other town business.⁶⁹ Boston started to separate the meetings of freemen and inhabitants in 1658, but it was 1659 before the town openly made a rule for their separation.⁷⁰

The more definite division between freemen and nonfreemen did not engender any obvious opposition to the church and government in the colony however. In fact there seemed to be a lack of any real disturbance during this period. There was apparently still a great degree of uniformity in religious beliefs in most of the towns. In 1661, for instance, the Watertown selectmen complied with an order of the general court and took a survey of the town to determine whether all inhabitants were obeying the law which required "the knowledg of God & excerising reading to the advancing of Catachising." They found that only four families were neglecting their duty.⁷¹

⁶⁶ *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 307-308.

⁶⁷ *Mass. Records*, II, 197.

⁶⁸ *The Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts Reprinted from the Copy of the 1648 Edition in the Henry E. Huntington Library, with an Introduction by Max Farrand* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. A2, 23, 50-51. Hereafter this work will be cited *Mass. Laws of 1648*.

⁶⁹ *Dorchester Town Records*, p. 315.

⁷⁰ *Boston Town Records*, II, 133, 148, 149; for a similar change in Salem see *Town Records of Salem, Massachusetts* (Salem, 1913, 1934), II, 4, 8, 9.

⁷¹ *Watertown Records*, I, 71.

Ten years earlier Johnson had given the Watertown population as 160 families.⁷² If only four out of 160 Watertown families were neglecting their religious instruction, there could not have been much dissension in the town on the religious score. Furthermore, the very fact that Johnson himself does not mention any political turmoil, any growing threat of a large body of non-freemen to enlarge their political rights, is good indication that there was none. Johnson, who wrote his historical work during this period, was one of the "aristocracy" and would have been definitely concerned about any major move to upset the status quo.

Not only was there no great demand for increased freemanship at this time but some men were still avoiding the obligations of freedom. A 1647 law is clear on this matter: "*Wheras there are within this Jurisdiction many members of Churches who to exempt themselves from all publick service in the Common-wealth will not come in, to be made Freemen,*" the court ordered that such members should not be exempt from public service. They must serve when elected constables, jurors, selectmen, or surveyors of highways, and if they refused when legally chosen they must pay the same fine freemen were liable to in such cases.⁷³ If church members were refusing to become freemen, it is logical to assume that non-church members might be equally reluctant—a fact which must be considered in any discussion of the franchise.

The only minor change in franchise requirements between 1647 and 1664 was the addition in 1658 of a property qualification for town voting. According to the law, all English inhabitants of twenty-four years who had taken the oath of fidelity and who were "Rated at *twenty pound* estate in a single Country Rate" could vote and hold office in town affairs.⁷⁴ This new property qualification did not provide any real restriction on voting, however, as the tax laws illustrate. A horse was rated at £10, a cow at £3, and even single men in Watertown who had no visible estate were to be rated £15.⁷⁵ Moreover, according to Johnson, at this time in the colony even the poorest man owned a house and land of his own—certainly enough property to qualify him for the vote.⁷⁶

Actually, there is evidence that during this period the majority of adult men were freemen. According to one Captain Breedon, who was summoned to appear before the Council for Foreign Plantations in London, March 11,

⁷² Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence*, p. 74.

⁷³ *Mass. Laws of 1648*, p. 23.

⁷⁴ *Mass. Laws of 1660*, p. 76 [196].

⁷⁵ *Mass. Records*, IV, Pt. 1, pp. 288–89; *Watertown Records*, I, 33.

⁷⁶ Johnson, p. 210.

1660, two thirds of the soldiers were freemen.⁷⁷ If two thirds of the soldiers, which included all men over sixteen years,⁷⁸ were freemen in 1660, then almost all free adult males in 1660 must have been freemen, for approximately thirty-four per cent of all settled males over sixteen years were minors or servants.⁷⁹ Breedon's estimate coincides with figures on Roxbury about this time cited by Samuel Eliot Morison. His claim was that of the fifty-seven men in Roxbury fifty-four were voters.⁸⁰

In the 1660's the final major legal change was made in province voting, a change which slightly widened the franchise. The king of England sent a royal commission to investigate the colonies, and at the insistence of the king and the commissioners, the general court repealed the 1631 law restricting freemanship to church members, and adopted a new franchise requirement. The new law, passed in August, 1664, gave the vote to all church members in full communion. But it also enfranchised all Englishmen twenty-four years of age who presented a certificate from the ministers of their town that they were orthodox in religion and another certificate from the selectmen that they were freeholders and "rateable to the country in a single country rate," without poll tax and in the usual manner of valuation, to the value of ten shillings.⁸¹

In view of the current interpretation that the 1664 property qualification excluded most men from the vote,⁸² the contemporary debate over the issue deserves some special attention. Displeased about the new law, the royal commissioners wrote to the general court on May 18, 1665, warning them the king would not be happy to find the law allowed the vote to "him only who pajeth ten shillings to a single rate to be of competent estate." In a town of one hundred inhabitants, the commissioners complained, hardly three men were to be found who paid that much and not one church member in a hundred paid that amount.⁸³

The general court defended its law, claiming it did not restrict many from the franchise. The law was not "exclusive," the court maintained, and furthermore some type of religious discipline was required of any Christian society. It "is no other then what is required of his majestjes subjects in England; & as for the manner of the exercise of ecclesiasticall discipline, although

⁷⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1677-1680*, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury and J. W. Fortescue (London, 1896), p. 297.

⁷⁸ *Mass. Laws of 1660*, p. 57 [177].

⁷⁹ *Boston Town Records*, I, 46-48.

⁸⁰ Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, pp. 340-41.

⁸¹ *Mass. Records*, IV, Pt.2, pp. 117-18, 134.

⁸² See for example, J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England*, p. 331; Wertenbaker, *Puritan Oligarchy*, pp. 305-306.

⁸³ *Mass. Records*, IV, Pt.2, p. 205.

the godly orthodox are variously minded therein, yet this is no barr to any in the enjoyment of any civil priviledge heere." And, added the court, the small compensation for officeholding in the colony made those elected not "the objects of envy for any personall benefit they have thereby." In fact many had greatly reduced their estates by having to serve in office.⁸⁴

War between the English and Dutch prevented the royal commissioners from carrying on the debate, however, and the law continued in force until the charter was revoked in 1686.

The actual wording of this law along with a check on the tax customs of the day reveals the retort of the general court to be correct, not the interpretation of the royal commissioners. The law was not exclusive. It said those freeholders were qualified to vote who were *rated* in a single country rate to the value of ten shillings, not those who *paid* ten shillings. This made a great difference. A tax rating was the assessed valuation of a man's taxable property. The commissioners were correct in saying few men in a town *paid* ten shillings tax, but they confused the amount paid with the amount rated.

Tax valuations for that day show it would be rare indeed if a man did not own enough property to be *rated* ten shillings. In 1653 all single persons in Watertown without visible estates were rated at £15 for ministry and town charges.⁸⁵ After the early 1650's the amount paid in country (that is, province) tax was one penny for every twenty shillings ratable estate,⁸⁶ and a law in 1657 showed clearly how estates were to be valued. Houses and lands were to be rated at "an equall and indifferent value" according to their worth in the town where they were located. Animals were to be rated as follows: every three-year-old horse at £10; those between two and three years at £7; those between one and two years at £5; cows at £3; sheep at 25s.; swine at 20s.; every ass of one year at 40s.; and so on.⁸⁷ In other words, anyone who owned one half of a swine or one sixth of a cow would be *rated* enough to qualify for the franchise.

Not only is the valuation law itself evidence that few would be excluded from the vote by a ten-shilling property qualification, but a check of the valuation records for Boston in 1676 shows that ninety-five per cent of the men listed on the Boston tax list had ample property to qualify. A very few houses were valued as low as £5, and none lower. Most of them were rated £10 or over and a few as high as £300. But even if a man couldn't qualify with real estate, such items as horses, cows, swine, sheep, mills, and other estates (money at interest, or trades) were also rated.⁸⁸ Since all males over

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, Pt.2, p. 221.

⁸⁵ *Watertown Records*, I, 33.

⁸⁶ *Boston Town Records*, X, 48.

⁸⁷ *Mass. Records*, IV, Pt.1, pp. 288-89.

⁸⁸ *Boston Town Records*, I, 60-67.

sixteen years were listed for poll tax on the tax records, it is very possible that some of the disqualified five per cent would be younger sons and servants under the voting age.

With the repeal of the church restriction clause and the passage of the 1664 law, province voting rules for the remainder of the Puritan period were set. Was the new law exclusive or did the relaxation of the church restriction allow a flood of new voters?

The altered regulation apparently resulted in little change in the complexion of the voting population or voting habits. A comparison of records before and after the change discloses no unusual turnover in officeholders.⁸⁹ The Boston town records still show that notices for freemen's meetings were given from "house to house"—an indication that being a freeman was not too rare.⁹⁰ And, according to Samuel Sewall, some men continued to be hesitant about joining the church (still an easy means to freemanship) because of their personal unsettled condition and the responsibilities involved.⁹¹ But even in this late period the majority favored the Puritan way. For example, in 1680 one unsympathetic traveler, Jasper Danckaerts, wrote: "They [in New England] are all Independents in matters of religion, if it can be called religion; many of them perhaps more for the purposes of enjoying the benefit of its privileges than for any regard to truth and godliness."⁹² And William Stoughton and Peter Bulkeley, Massachusetts agents in England, stated that although non-church-members could be freemen, the number who were not members was "inconsiderable."⁹³

In fact, available statistics for this period indicate the majority of men in Boston were freemen. As early as 1665 Boston complained that their town was under-represented, that the number of Boston freemen was "very lardg" and that the town deserved more representation.⁹⁴ In 1679 Boston was still complaining, and declared their "greate Towne" consisted of "neere twentie times twentie" or about four hundred freemen.⁹⁵ Other figures found in Boston tax records for 1674 show that sixty-six to sixty-eight per cent of the total ratable males (that is, over sixteen years) were masters of families.⁹⁶ And in 1678 and 1679, a total of 991 males over sixteen years took the required oath of allegiance in Boston.⁹⁷ So if sixty-six per cent of the males over sixteen

⁸⁹ *Mass. Records*, IV, Pt.2, pp. 1, 116-17, 141-43, 294.

⁹⁰ *Boston Town Records*, VII, 24, 38.

⁹¹ *Samuel Sewall's Diary*, ed. Mark Van Doren (New York, 1927), p. 14.

⁹² *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*, ed. Bartlett B. James and J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1913), p. 274.

⁹³ *Calendar of State Papers, 1677-1680*, pp. 261, 269; and for a slightly later period see Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 2d ed. (Hartford, 1855), I, 86-87.

⁹⁴ *Boston Town Records*, VII, 26.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 134.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 38-39, 46-48, 49-53.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXIX, 164, 169.

were masters of families, there would be 654 masters of families or adult householders in Boston in 1678-1679. If 400 of the 654 were freemen, at least sixty-one per cent of all adult men in Boston would have been freemen in 1679. Furthermore, it should be remembered that Boston was the only town with any organized churches other than Congregational and therefore would probably have had the lowest percentage of freemen among the adult male residents of any town in the colony.⁹⁸ But even sixty-one per cent freemen is a reasonable majority and far different from the percentage usually assumed by most authorities.

During the last few years of the Puritan period, an increase in the property qualification for town voting may have provided some restriction for a few of the nonfreemen in local affairs. By an order of 1670, the property qualification for the town franchise was raised from a £20 to an £80 ratable estate, but the sum was not to exclude any person from the privilege of voting formerly granted to him.⁹⁹ No explanation for the change is given in the laws and there seems to have been no noticeable opposition to the new qualification. At best it would have affected few men, for all freemen still had the franchise as well as all nonfreemen who formerly voted under the twenty-pound restriction. The new order, however, would affect any prospective voters who were nonfreemen in the final years of the Puritan regime.

In spite of this change the majority of adult men apparently could still vote in town affairs. A 1679 list of those in Ipswich "that by law are allowed to have there votes in Town affairs" contained 125 names.¹⁰⁰ Early in 1678 the town also listed all the commoners. Along with absentee owners, widows, and rights of the school, 161 male commoners were named.¹⁰¹ Some of these 161 men might have been minors who could not have voted anyway, but for safety we will assume that all 161 men were adults. It appears, then, that approximately 125 out of 161 or 77.6 per cent of the men in Ipswich were allowed to vote in town affairs.

What does all this evidence mean?

It can mean that our modern notions about Puritan Massachusetts need some revision. Throughout the seventeenth century, the colony was surprisingly uniform in religion. Voting was limited to freemen at first, but as the

⁹⁸ See Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 86-87.

⁹⁹ *Mass. Records*, IV, Pt.2, p. 464.

¹⁰⁰ Waters, *Ipswich in the Mass. Bay Colony*, I, 91-93. Waters came to quite a different interpretation through what I believe to be a mishandling of evidence. In his total number of adult males which he combined from several lists, he has included all absentee owners, widows, and many obvious duplicate names. See pp. 98-106.

¹⁰¹ This list is given in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, VII (Boston, 1853), 77-79.

number of nonfreemen grew the restrictions were gradually relaxed and much of that relaxation was due to pressure by freemen. Many men were nonfreemen by choice, not by compulsion. And the property qualification which replaced the religious restriction on province voting in 1664 was not large enough to exclude many men from the franchise. In other words, the franchise laws changed as the complexion of the population changed and Puritan Massachusetts practiced more democracy than most current writers indicate. Massachusetts was not as aristocratic, as undemocratic, as we have been led to believe.

East Lansing, Michigan

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Goldwin Smith on England and America

ELISABETH WALLACE

NINETY years ago, in December, 1864, an article with the title "England and America" appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*. The author was Goldwin Smith, the Regius Professor of History at Oxford, who liked to describe himself as "an Englishman who regards the American Commonwealth as the greatest achievement of his race." The article originated as a lecture given in Boston on the occasion of Goldwin Smith's visit to the United States during the Civil War as an unofficial representative of the English friends of the North.¹ At a time when relations between England and America were strained by the frank sympathy for the side of the South shown in British government circles and by the powerful London *Times*, Goldwin Smith came as a spokesman for the British Liberals who hated slavery, and as the exponent of what he called "Anglo-Saxony"—a vision of the rapprochement of the English-speaking peoples of the world. Almost a hundred years later, when new life has again been breathed into this vision, there is a timeliness in recalling the views of one of the earliest advocates of Anglo-American friendship and co-operation.

When Goldwin Smith arrived in the United States in 1864, he was already known as a friend of America and as a critic of orthodox concepts of British imperialism. That the North American colonies had from the beginning been destined to become completely independent of their mother country seemed to him obvious, but the manner of their parting, in a violent revolution which left behind it a legacy of dislike and suspicion on each side, seemed to him deplorable. He liked to remind his Oxford students of

¹ "England and America," *Atlantic Monthly*, XIV (December, 1864), 749-69. This lecture, read before the Boston Fraternity, was later published in England under the auspices of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society (Manchester, 1865) and in Boston by Ticknor and Fields (1865). Although a historian by profession, Goldwin Smith was by inclination a pamphleteer; he spent many more years as a practicing journalist than as a teacher of history. As a publicist he was "the prince of pamphleteers," to use the phrase which he himself applied to Burke. As a historian his claims to fame were far less. Essentially uninterested in primary sources, he was at heart a moralist who made no effort to conceal his many personal prejudices. But his style was brilliant, and if his books were often partisan and not always accurate they were never dull. Among his better-known historical writings are *Lectures on the Study of History* (1865), *Three English Statesmen* (1867), *The United States* (1893), and *The United Kingdom* (1899). In 1904 he delivered the presidential address to the American Historical Association on "The Treatment of History," *American Historical Review*, X (April, 1905), 511-20.

the kindly reception given the first American ambassador to England by old George III, who explained frankly that he had been the last to consent to the separation. Once it had been made, however, and was irrevocable, he had always said, as he did then, that he "would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power." And in the speech from the throne the king had declared: "Religion, Language, Interest, Affection, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries; to this end neither attention nor disposition on my part will be wanting." After all, Goldwin Smith pointed out, when George III signed away his empire over America, he did not thereby sign away the empire of English law, of English religion, of English blood, of the English tongue, of English literature, or of English liberty. It must be the earnest desire of every Englishman, he thought, that the common bonds which inevitably linked the two countries might be more closely drawn, and that in time the wound might heal, even though history could never cancel "the fatal page which robs England of half the glory and half the happiness of being the mother of a great nation."²

Goldwin Smith was appointed to the Regius professorship in 1858, but, when he visited the United States six years later, he was best known on both sides of the Atlantic not as an academic historian but as a controversial journalist, the most brilliant exponent of the "Little England" doctrines of the Manchester School of Cobden and Bright and the writer, in 1862 and 1863, of a series of provocative letters to the *Daily News*, later published in book form as *The Empire*. These letters, which enthusiastically advocated the emancipation of the colonies, provoked widespread discussion in which the violent opposition of *The Times* bore witness to the force of Goldwin Smith's arguments and the quality of his style. His opinions, though unpopular in many circles, were not novel. The authority of *The Wealth of Nations* could be cited in support of the view that colonies which contributed neither revenue nor military assistance to the mother country should not really be considered provinces at all but rather appendages, in Adam Smith's phrase, "a sort of splendid and showy equipage of the empire," an empire on the far side of the Atlantic which existed in imagination only, "not an empire, but the project of an empire, not a gold mine, but the project of a gold mine." The dry tones of the economist could be recognized in his conclusion that a project which cannot be completed ought to be abandoned. Al-

² "On the Foundation of the American Colonies," *Lectures on Modern History* (Oxford, 1861), p. 32. A. V. Dicey described George III's words to the American ambassador as "the most striking king's speech on record." "A Common Citizenship for the English Race," *Contemporary Review*, LXXI (April, 1897), 457-76.

most three quarters of a century later, in 1841, Sir George Cornwall Lewis had argued forcibly that the British Empire was necessarily self-liquidating, since "a self-governing dependency is a contradiction in terms."

The loss of the American colonies had led many Englishmen to feel that an empire was subject to the law of rapidly diminishing returns. Since England was much more interested in trading with the world than in dominating it, they looked forward with considerable equanimity to the disintegration of an ungrateful empire where mercantilism was only too evidently dead. At the very time when free-trade doctrines were becoming sacrosanct at home, the colonies were beginning to outrage economic decency by imposing tariffs, not only on the goods of foreigners, which would have been bad enough, but actually on those of Great Britain herself. If the value of colonies was to be computed purely in cash terms, as it then normally was, they seemed clearly to be a liability rather than an asset. Even Disraeli incautiously expressed the opinion in 1852 that England's wretched colonies would all be independent in a few years, and that they were "a millstone around our necks." As late as 1866 he wondered publicly what was the use of "these colonial deadweights which we do not govern." The day of the jubilees and the jingoes was yet to come.

But in Goldwin Smith's attitude there was more than the ordinary "Little Englandism" which was relatively popular from about 1840 to 1870, and which was partly attributable to the revulsion of feeling which followed the American War of Independence. He was not willing to write off a colony as nothing but a wretched millstone or a deadweight to be shaken as quickly as possible from the neck of the mother country. He did indeed argue that "this expensive and perilous connexion has entirely survived its sole legitimate cause," and asked what was the use of continuing it if the colonies were to do nothing for Great Britain and she was to do nothing for them. But when taxed with being against the colonies, he retorted: "I am no more against Colonies than I am against the solar system. I am against dependencies when nations are fit to be independent." His desire, and that of men like Cobden and Bright, was that England might become the mother of free nations and might have the glory of being the first country in history spontaneously to grant independence to a daughter state. That the emancipation of the colonies would reduce England to an insular position he refused to admit. She would differ from other islands by being the center of a great confederacy of nations of her own race. Each of them would have its own government and contribute its experience to the political progress of the whole, but they would be bound together by sympathy, by alliance, and perhaps to some extent by mutual civic rights.

Goldwin Smith was accused, for expressing such sentiments, of lacking common patriotism. His object, he avowed, was not to show such patriotism, of which more eloquent pens than his provided a perennial supply, but to appeal to those who looked beyond common patriotism to the real and abiding springs of their country's greatness, and who were as unwilling as he himself to damage the character of adult colonies by keeping in political leading strings free nations, such as Canada, which in truth were dependent only in name. To such colonies England had given all that in reality she had to give, her language, with its wisdom and beauty, her national character, her aptitude for law and government, her belief in personal liberty, her commercial energy, a bond of affection, and the tradition of an illustrious origin. This was the connection with the colonies which seemed to him significant and an essential part of England's greatness, not the bond of trade, nor of military fealty, but the ties of blood, ideas, and sympathy, which would not be affected by political separation. And when the colonies should become nations in their own right, "something in the nature of a great Anglo-Saxon federation may, in substance if not in form, spontaneously arise out of affinity and mutual affection." England, he argued, should recognize that the world had changed since her empire was formed, she should be willing to take practical note of this change, and should realize that her true greatness lay not in her empire but in herself.³ Far from attacking the colonies, Goldwin Smith believed that there was nothing of which an Englishman had more reason to be proud, though English constituencies were incapable of discharging maternal functions toward colonists quite as intelligent and as fit for self-government as they were themselves. He added, characteristically, that there were few things of which an Englishman had less reason to be proud than the Colonial Office.⁴

Of the mid-nineteenth-century Englishmen whose imaginations were fired by the vision of a great group of independent nations, arising spontaneously from the grave of the dependent empire, the only ones who thought of the United States as an integral part of this group of the English-speaking peoples of the world were Charles Dilke and Goldwin Smith. The greatness of the English people on both sides of the Atlantic seemed to Smith to all intents and purposes the same. This dream of "Anglo-Saxonry" which had fascinated him before he had crossed the Atlantic was quickened by the kindness with which he was received in the United States and by the enduring admiration which he conceived for the country of Lincoln.

³ *The Empire: A Series of Letters Published in "The Daily News," 1862, 1863* (Oxford, 1863), pp. viii, 2, 3, 6, 8, 97, 123.

⁴ "The Empire," *Essays on Questions of the Day* (Toronto, 1893), p. 149, and "The Proposed Constitution for British North America," *Macmillan's Magazine*, XI (March, 1865), 416.

It was natural for him, holding the views that he did, to address himself to his Boston audience in 1864 as a man who could not regard America as a foreign nation, alien to British political concerns, but as one of the great centers of the English-speaking peoples, estranged from Great Britain only temporarily and by accident. England was his country. Yet he came to America, as an English Liberal, though an alien by birth, no alien in heart. Americans and English Liberals were united by blood and by a common allegiance to the cause of freedom. Between them there should surely be "a league of the heart." Should their two countries quarrel, instead of standing together against the powers of absolutism, the hope of freedom in Europe would be almost extinguished. What would then become of the world? At the time when he spoke, the French had already begun to exult at what they considered the imminent prospect of a fratricidal war between Great Britain and the United States. Over such a prospect, Goldwin Smith commented, they might well exult, for in his estimation the cause of human freedom could not possibly receive any greater blow. If his Liberal creed were true, he thought it must be admitted that American institutions—with the great exception of the peculiar institution of slavery—represented a marked improvement on those of the Old World. Yet they were neither "a miraculous leap into a political millennium" nor yet the final consummation of progress. Model republics had in the past been tried and found wanting by history, a process which would doubtless be repeated.

He reminded his hearers that

English liberties, imperfect as they may be,—and as an English Liberal of course thinks they are,—are the source from which your liberties have flowed, though the river may be more abundant than the spring. Being in America, I am in England,—not only because American hospitality makes me feel that I am still in my own country, but because our institutions are fundamentally the same. The great foundations of constitutional government, legislative assemblies, parliamentary representation, personal liberty, self-taxation, the freedom of the press, allegiance to the law as a power above individual will,—all these were established . . . in the land from which the fathers of your republic came. . . . It is from England that you are sprung; from her you brought the power of self-government which was the talisman of colonization and the pledge of your empire here. She it was, that, having advanced by centuries of effort to the front of the Old World, became worthy to give birth to the New. From England you are sprung; and it is because you are Englishmen that English freedom, not French or Spanish despotism, is the law of this continent. From England you are sprung; and if the choice were given you among all the nations of the world, which would you rather choose for a mother?⁵

Goldwin Smith's mission to the United States in 1864 was to try to make its people understand that the attitude of England toward the American Civil

⁵ "England and America," *Atlantic Monthly*, XIV, 751–52.

War was not fairly represented by the fulminations of *The Times*, the members of the aristocracy, and the cotton manufacturers. *The Times*, he pointed out, was not the whole of the English press, nor did wealthy families voice the opinions of all the English people. Even the Lancashire millworkers, many of whom were thrown into acute distress by the unemployment caused by the embargo on cotton, were strongly for the North. Liberal England, he argued, was on their side, just as Liberal England, in the persons of men like Chatham and Burke, had been on their side in 1776. He reminded his listeners that for them and with them England had overthrown France and Spain on the North American continent and made it the land of the Anglo-Saxon. He called upon them to consider what the two nations had been to each other in the past, what they might be to each other in the future, what they might yet accomplish together for themselves and for the world. Finally, he stated his own belief that England's finest achievement, the sum of all her greatest victories, was the foundation of "this the great commonwealth of the New World."

From the United States he sent back to England another series of letters to the *Daily News*, less well known than his earlier ones. By their sympathetic attempt to interpret to England the point of view of the North, as well as by their felicity of style, these deserve to be rescued from oblivion. After having traveled and lectured widely in the United States, as an interpreter of England to America, and having had what he ever considered one of the greatest honors of his life, an opportunity to meet Lincoln, he returned to Britain, where he was again in great demand as a lecturer, this time as the exponent of the New World to the Old. He tried to fire his English audiences with his own vision of "a moral, commercial, and diplomatic union of all the communities of the Anglo-Saxon race," including what he believed must soon become the greatest of these communities, the United States of America. This, he held, was no dream but might by a rational policy be transmuted into a glorious reality. What he did consider chimerical was faith in the political union of all these communities, or even of those still nominally ruled by Britain. This, indeed, seemed to him a dream from which waking must soon come, for he denied the possibility that a nation on one side of the globe could continue to remain politically dependent upon a nation on the other side. The insight which led him to adopt a position almost universally unpopular for the next three quarters of a century was shown in his argument that the tie of affection, to which they all clung, could be secured only by freeing the colonies from political leading strings and by his suggestion that this might be combined with a mutual retention of citizenship, so that

to all intents and purposes an Englishman might find himself an Australian in Australia, and an Australian be an Englishman in the British Isles.⁶

If Goldwin Smith wore his belief in colonial emancipation with a difference, as he undoubtedly did, it was a difference which won him little approval either at home or abroad. In Great Britain the tide of opinion was by the end of the 1860's beginning to turn from widespread acceptance of the belief that the sooner the colonies were allowed to go their own way the better, toward a romantic and aggressive concept of a far-flung empire and a conviction of the God-given character of the white man's burden. And in the colonies themselves, which he somewhat cavalierly declared that Nature proclaimed aloud must be given up, there appeared no inclination to end the British connection but considerable irritation at the Olympian pronouncement that this was the dictate of manifest destiny. Canadians were particularly annoyed by the confident prophecy that they were soon to join the United States, as a step in the natural march of events which was evidently tending toward an amicable confederation of all the English-speaking states of North America.⁷ They had reason, after all, to be primarily concerned with their own Confederation, which came into being in 1867, an outward and visible sign of an inner spirit of nascent nationalism which Goldwin Smith oddly enough never understood. The warmth of his feeling for North America was practically attested when in 1868 he joined the staff of the newly established Cornell University and when two and a half years later he settled in Canada at Toronto. Much of his energies during the next forty years was to be devoted to the always delicate and usually thankless task of endeavoring to interpret Englishmen, Americans, and Canadians to each other. It was a premature enthusiasm which the *Gazette* (Montreal) displayed on February 11, 1870, when it commented with approval in a leading editorial on the more favorable attitude toward the colonies recently shown in Britain and noted with satisfaction that Professor Goldwin Smith seemed to have become dumb. The *Gazette* rashly concluded that his residence on this side of the Atlantic had taught him how little he really knew about the empire when he had had the temerity to discuss it some years before. Knowledge, it suggested hopefully, had made him, as it made most men, more modest and reticent.

Within a year Professor Goldwin Smith had established himself at Toronto, where for the next four decades from his stately home, the Grange,

⁶ *Three English Statesmen: A Course of Lectures on the Political History of England* (London and New York, 1867), pp. 108-109.

⁷ "The Case of the Alabama," *Macmillan's Magazine*, XIII (December, 1865), 162-76 and *The Civil War in America: An Address Read at the last meeting of the Manchester Union and Emancipation Society* (London, 1866).

the gospel was proclaimed to an unwilling dominion that its destiny was union with the United States, proclaimed in some two hundred Canadian, American, and English journals and newspapers, by a man whom many competent critics considered the greatest living master of English prose style. It was small wonder that in Toronto, the most conservative and imperialistic center in Canada, Goldwin Smith was unpopular, a fact which his friends at Cornell sometimes found difficult to understand. In his advocacy of union between the two English-speaking peoples of the continent (he tended always conveniently to ignore French Canada), as in everything else that he did, Goldwin Smith was entirely honest and profoundly unconcerned by public criticism. This union, he believed, was in the best interests of Britain, Canada, and the United States. It was also the dictate of nature. He was quite prepared to marshal arguments in support of this view, but he shared with Karl Marx the habit, infuriating to opponents, of assuming that what he believed to be right was destined inevitably to occur. The operation of the great forces of nature, he liked to say, might be long delayed, but in the end they would have their way. The term "annexation" he abhorred, because it implied a forcible union of the lesser with the greater power. What he had in mind was a free and honorable union, equally beneficial to both sides, like that between England and Scotland. The schism between the English-speaking peoples of the continent brought about by the American Revolution and the migration of the Loyalists to the colonies which remained British, seemed to him one of the most unfortunate accidents of history, but an accident which history, in its own good time, would repair.

As for the reaction in England in favor of imperialism, he dismissed it as one of those backstreams of which history was full. The British, he believed, would come again to their senses and become aware of the fact, which had seemed to be dawning on them twenty years earlier, that "enormous and unnatural agglomerations of territory are not really and permanently conducive to wealth, strength or happiness."⁸ It required some prescience as well as some stubbornness, in 1878, to oppose aggressive imperialism, though in retrospect "Little Englandism" seems to have been more realistic than Disraeli's flamboyant concept of empire. The last thirty years of the century saw the partition of Africa, the extension of British interests to Egypt, the Boer Wars, and the birth of American imperialism under McKinley. Goldwin Smith inveighed against them all alike, arguing that though the victor might trample upon the vanquished and for a time even trample upon public opinion, yet he did not write history. In the end, he prophesied, the fabrics

⁸ *The Political Destiny of Canada* (Toronto, 1878), pp. 152-53.

reared by ambition and cupidity would be cast down, and man discover that he could not build his own happiness on the misery of his fellows. No nation, he contended, was sufficiently moral to be able to govern other peoples for the benefit of the governed.⁹ In a letter to John Bright he inquired bitterly how long it had been part of the Liberal creed that Englishmen should make war in order to improve the governments of other countries. He doubted whether the worst government in the world could do anything much worse than what was done by war.¹⁰

His enthusiasm for the United States had been so great that he was the more disillusioned, at the end of the century, when she emerged as an imperial power. He wrote wistfully to an American friend that he could not imagine any political connection with Cuba that would not be bad for the United States, for democracies could not govern dependencies—a reiteration of his criticism of British imperialism voiced in *The Empire* forty years earlier.¹¹ To President Jacob Schurman of Cornell, who had been commissioner to the Philippines in 1899, Goldwin Smith confessed that he was not sanguine about the possibility of one nation being trained by another for self-government. “There is no saying what might be the result if Boston were to migrate to the Philippines and take the political nursing in hand; though even then there would be the barriers of race, language and religion. But the nursing fathers will probably be of a very different class.” President Roosevelt was reported to have “generous impulses.” So, according to the story books, Goldwin Smith noted, had Dick Turpin.¹²

For the time, at least, the policy of McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt delivered a crushing blow to his former enthusiasm for union between Canada and the United States. No Canadian, he thought, would desire incorporation with a Negro and Malay Empire, and he himself would feel constrained to vote against union with a tropical and barbarian America. In expansion of this sort he could see nothing but naked aggrandizement, a marked departure from the principles of the Jeffersonian Republic, destined to bring ruin upon the victors and vanquished alike. To Andrew Carnegie he commented: “England is slaughtering the Zulus, a very fine and promising race; Germany is slaughtering the native races in Central Africa; Belgium is slaughtering the native races in the Congo; the United States are

⁹ *Bystander* (Toronto), I (January, 1880), 38–43, and “The Last Republicans of Rome,” *Lectures and Essays* (Toronto, 1881), p. 293.

¹⁰ Smith to Bright, Oct. 15, 1882, Goldwin Smith Papers, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York.

¹¹ Smith to General J. H. Wilson (then commanding officer in Cuba), Jan. 14, 1897, and Jan. 4, 1899, Goldwin Smith Papers.

¹² Smith to President Jacob Schurman, Feb. 17 and May 4, 1902, Schurman Papers, Cornell University Library.

slaughtering the Philippines—this is the work of ‘civilization’. All the wild-stocks of humanity are being destroyed, with doubtful advantage to humanity.”¹³ Empire-building was one bond of union between the United States and Great Britain which he would fain have seen removed. He could conceive no possible use that the Philippines could be to the American people save as a trophy, a political adjunct or barnacle, scarcely salutary or suitable for a republic—a view which seems to have been justified by the decision of the American government, half a century later, to restore their independence to these islands. If the Americans wished to bear their share of the white man’s burden, he suggested dryly that a noble field of endeavor was open to them within their own borders, where some nine million Negroes were about as degraded and downtrodden as any race could be.¹⁴

English hopes of an imperial federation to link the dominions and the mother country, which were much to the fore in the 1880’s, seemed to Goldwin Smith totally impracticable. He saw clearly that this proposal was put forward in ignorance of the real strength of colonial nationalism and that Canadians and Australians and New Zealanders would not be willing to part with any portion of their self-government, to contribute to imperial armaments, nor to conform to an imperial tariff. He dismissed the idea as simply “one of the changes of hue on the dying dolphin of the old colonial system.”¹⁵ One federation there was which he did think feasible, and, to those who computed grandeur in terms other than that of physical force, at least as grand as that of which the imperial federationist dreamed. This, he thought, was a possibility verging on realization, “the moral federation of the whole English-speaking race throughout the world,” including the English-speaking peoples of the United States.¹⁶

Seeley’s *Expansion of England*, published in 1883, was widely acclaimed in Great Britain. But as Goldwin Smith pointed out, in colonies such as Canada there were many people who believed less in the expansion of England than in the multiplication of Englands. He anticipated Professor Unwin by more than a quarter of a century in the argument that the British Empire was not so much the deliberate expansion of the English state that Seeley had emphasized as the unplanned expansion of her people, a development which expressed their character and the conditions of English society rather than the purposes of the British government. Goldwin Smith liked no better

¹³ Smith to Carnegie, July 26, 1898, Goldwin Smith Papers.

¹⁴ “Imperialism in the United States,” *Contemporary Review*, LXXV (May, 1899), 620–28 and “The Perils of the Republic,” *North American Review*, CLXXXIV (March, 1907), 464–74.

¹⁵ “The Canadian Question,” *Independent* (New York), Feb. 23, 1888.

¹⁶ *Canada and the Canadian Question* (Toronto, 1891), pp. 265–66, and *The Times* (London), Dec. 31, 1887, letter from Goldwin Smith.

Dilke's phrase "Greater Britain," which reminded him of the old belief that the earth was the center of the solar system. "Standing on his historical island, the British expansionist sees all the other communities of the race revolving round him, and fancies that they neither have, nor ever will have, any relations but to him."¹⁷ This centripetal view irked his patience. Surely, he argued, it was conceivable that under other auspices these young nations might be destined to lead a distinct, perhaps a greater, life of their own, that would reflect enhanced importance and interest on the land from which they sprang.

Addressing the members of the New York Canadian Club in 1888, he reminded his hearers that the blood, the language, the literature, the great institutions and the laws of their republic were English, and that they were the inheritors of the Anglo-Saxon gift of establishing free institutions and making them work. The time, he foretold, would soon come when the beat of the British drum would no more go round the world with the rising sun, but as the last throb of the war drum died away, there would be heard the voice of civilization, law, and literature speaking in the English tongue in "that grander and better Empire to which all whose language is English must for ever belong."¹⁸ Radical imperialism now conceived of an empire not of ascendancy but of free association. It would shortly appear, he believed, that the proclamation of democracy meant the renunciation of other types of empire. He admitted wryly that he could not help loving all the English-speaking peoples better than some of them loved the others, but he prophesied that their misunderstandings and quarrels would one day come to an end. It was in this faith that Goldwin Smith died in 1910, still thinking of himself as "a citizen of the Anglo-Saxon race," proud of its traditions and confident in its future.

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¹⁷ "The Expansion of England," *Contemporary Review*, XLV (April, 1884), 524-40. Cf. also, "The Organization of Democracy," *Contemporary Review*, XLVII (March, 1885), 315-33.

¹⁸ *The Political Relations of Canada to Great Britain and the United States: An Address Delivered to the Nineteenth Century Club, New York, on the 31st of January, 1890* (Toronto, 1890), pp. 7-8. Cf. also, "The Impending Revolution," *Nineteenth Century*, XXXV (March, 1894), 353-66.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

STUDIES IN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY. By *George Boas, et al.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 225. \$3.75.)

For more than thirty years the members of certain departments of the Johns Hopkins University have formed a History of Ideas Club. A contract theory would seem to fit the facts of its origin. Professors Arthur Lovejoy, Gilbert Chinard, and George Boas were these contractors, as well as the architects of an institution which, since January, 1923, has met nearly two hundred times and listened to as many papers falling within its comprehensive purview.

The present volume offers eight essays appropriately dedicated to Professor Lovejoy in his capacity as colleague, master, and friend. These group themselves naturally into studies of four kinds: two deal with the problems and methods of intellectual history; two with the history of certain ideas in antiquity; two with aspects of the history of science; and two with the history of American thought.

Professor Boas opens the series with a list of "Problems of Intellectual History," among which he finds most important the avoidance of the fallacy of ambiguity, that is, mistaking two or more ideas for one because they go by one name. Closely allied to the unmasking of this error is the discovery of inconsistencies in the thought of great writers of the past. In short, for Professor Boas as for Lovejoy and his disciples, to distinguish among closely related meanings and to enumerate *n* separate "ideas" huddling under the term "Nature" or "Romanticism" or "Democracy" is held to be the first step in retelling the story of man's mind.

No one doubts the utility of making distinctions that will prevent taking a bush for a bear in the dark. But one may question the cogency of making logic the prime instrument in the historiography of ideas. On this point Professor Boas's concern with the inconsistency of thinkers supplies us with evidence. For it reminds us that a perfect system of ideas is not to be found and also that the battle of ideas consists largely in debating whether this idea and that idea can or cannot be entertained simultaneously. We know ideas through words, and beyond deprecating gross contradictions history seldom gives clear-cut and final decisions.

It is precisely about words that Professor Leo Spitzer contributes what is perhaps the finest, certainly the most widely applicable, essay in this volume. He points out that language is the basis of science, philosophy, and poetry and that what happens to words and with words conditions not only our understanding of things but our relations with other men and with ourselves. To the extent that we are historians and social beings, readers of poetry and of newspapers, we are philologists, better or worse in proportion to the depth of our linguistic knowledge and verbal self-consciousness.

To generalize about these two important essays on method in intellectual history, one might say that side by side with the true wisdom of the experienced practitioner, they convey a skepticism which has nothing to do with the historian's professional caution. For even though the historian is bound to take his material critically, he is also bound to present it as it seemed to the living participants, and this entails the acceptance of inconsistencies, bad logic, confusion of terms, and accidental concurrences. Ideas in history have lopsided contours and a rough surface, and it is in that form that they work upon mankind.

The two excellent essays on "The Golden Chain of Homer" by Professor Ludwig Edelstein and on "The History of Ideas and Ancient Greek Philosophy" by Professor Harold Cherniss furnish repeated examples of this general truth. Indeed the second of these studies reads like a set demonstration, showing at the same time that the Greeks, while possessing no such thing as a conscientious history of their own ideas, used pseudo-historical forms in their expositions and polemics. Logic and relevance were there but not the actuality of history.

Of the pair of chapters on scientific subjects the more important and also the more lucid is Professor Bentley Glass's account of the reasons why Gregor Mendel's work was neglected for thirty years. He shows in admirably marshaled detail how those closest to Mendel read him without understanding, and by what paradox the opaque ideas which kept the precursor of genetics hidden led at last to his rediscovery. In the other paper, the shifting meanings of infection, which have been studied by Professor Owsei Temkin, yield some light upon cultural history, though not as steady a beam as one might wish.

Finally, the essays dealing with American thought bring us an estimate of Professor Lovejoy's influence by Professor Philip P. Wiener and a discussion of "Progress and Perfectibility in Samuel Miller's Intellectual History" by Professor Gilbert Chinard. One will want more than the informal remarks and recollections of Professor Wiener to arrive at a just view of his subject, but if one has a similar desire for more after reading Professor Chinard on Samuel Miller it is because the veteran critic's essay is so well conceived, so satisfying in what it chooses to dwell on, and so adroitly baited with quotations.

Columbia University

JACQUES BARZUN

BREMEN UND AMERIKA: ZUR GESCHICHTE DER WELTWIRTSCHAFT UND DER BEZIEHUNGEN DEUTSCHLANDS ZU DEN VEREINIGTEN STAATEN. By *Ludwig Beutin*. (Bremen: Carl Schünemann. 1953. Pp. 356.)

To scholars interested in the economic history of Europe, of Germany, or of the United States this careful study of the relations of Bremen with the United States from before 1800 to 1939 can be recommended as a work of positive significance. Professor Beutin's book shows commendable thoroughness and objectivity

and a skillful use of archival and other materials. More than that, it manifests on nearly every page the sensitivity of the author to the universal aspects of world developments in a period which includes European recovery after the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, the era of free trade, the internationalization of the European economy throughout the world as a consequence of the industrial revolution, the effects of the First World War, and the postwar recovery halted by depression and the rise of Hitler. In the economic problems confronting the "city state" of Bremen for nearly 150 years are reflected the problems, *mutatis mutandis*, of larger political communities undergoing the profound changes resulting from the industrial revolution and the First World War.

The book is primarily concerned with the city of Bremen and the ways in which its life was affected by relations, largely economic, with the United States. Only against the background of these relations is it possible to understand why the city developed as it did. The city's relations with the *Zollverein* and with the Germany united by Bismarck can be fully understood only in this context. Certain matters are emphasized in the book—the role of American cotton and tobacco in the economic life of the people of Bremen, and, very particularly, the importance for Bremen and the North German Lloyd Shipping Line of America's need for emigrant European labor to develop its western lands. Other features of American life had a more or less serious influence upon the thought and activity of Bremen businessmen—American tariff policies, the Civil War, the annexation of Hawaii, the expulsion of Spain from Cuba, the construction of the Panama Canal, and the financial enterprises of J. P. Morgan.

If Americans in the nineteenth century believed that they lived in isolation from the rest of the world, nobody in Bremen could possibly think of himself as living in isolation from America. Even for the period since 1918, during which America's role in world affairs is better known, the author adds fresh detail in what he says about American postwar influence on the economic life of Bremen and Germany.

Yale University

HARRY R. RUDIN

THE ALLIES AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION: FROM THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY TO THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK. By Robert D. Warth. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 294. \$4.50.)

"THESE damn Russians had no right to have a revolution in time of war."

This remark which is attributed in *The Allies and the Russian Revolution* to an Englishman living in Petrograd during the exciting days of 1917, may perhaps be taken as reflecting a significant aspect of the attitude of the Allies toward the most momentous political event of modern times. For neither their governments nor their embassies in Russia, single-mindedly absorbed in the war against Ger-

many, gave any real indication of even trying to understand the great events of which they were such unhappy witnesses.

In this new book Dr. Warth has carefully re-examined, in eight rather brief chapters, the diplomatic record of the period from the March revolution to Brest Litovsk. The activities of the unofficial agents of the governments concerned, as well as those of their accredited ambassadors, are discussed in what the author states to be an attempt "to make the study definitive." His account may be very generally summed up as follows:

The Allies completely failed to recognize the implications of the deadening war weariness of the Russian people, withheld any concrete assistance from the Provisional Government whose continuance in power held out the only hope—however slim—of Russia staying in the war, totally misjudged the strength of the Petrograd Soviet and the caliber of its leaders, left the field wide open to Bolshevik propaganda by sabotaging any serious discussion of war aims, intervened irresponsibly in Russia's internal affairs, and blindly shut their eyes to the meaning of the Bolshevik triumph in November.

Dr. Warth's book is straightforward and objective, adheres rigidly to a chronological pattern, and is based on a careful review of the available literature. There is, however, little attempt to delve beneath the surface of diplomacy, no basic discussion of the underlying factors which influenced the course of events from either the Russian or the Allied point of view, and no very satisfactory interpretation of the factors responsible for "the fiasco of western diplomacy." As a consequence, it cannot be said that Dr. Warth adds very materially to what has long been known of the developments he discusses, and in its brevity his book falls far short of being a definitive study.

In spite of such criticism, however, this is a useful monograph within its limitations. It is clearly if not brilliantly written, well documented, and contains an extensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources.

Ohio State University

FOSTER RHEA DULLES

THE GREAT POWERS AND EASTERN EUROPE. By *John A. Lukacs*, Chestnut Hill College and La Salle College. (New York: American Book Company. 1953. Pp. xii, 878. \$7.50.)

AFTER a brief but penetrating survey of eastern European affairs from 1917 to 1934 the author launches on a detailed diplomatic history of this region down to the Potsdam Conference in 1945 and concludes with a short epilogue covering the next seven years. Lukacs adheres to a strict chronological approach and has divided his book into six parts rather than chapters. Each part includes many sections which in turn are largely a collection of episodes, so that at times the volume appears to be an account of a series of events rather than a historical synthesis.

The sketchy table of contents does not give any idea of the rich content of the volume.

The book is excellent in many respects. Lukacs brings together much material and his accounts of possible Russian aid at the time of Munich, of underground activities during the war, and the wartime relationship between the Axis government and the satellite states are especially good. He maintains that had the Allies tried an invasion of the Balkans, as Churchill kept urging, they would have found much support not only from the people of the region but from their leaders. All told, the author has thoroughly combed available documentary, memoir, and monographic material and has drawn as well on private sources of information, notably from former Hungarian leaders including Otto Habsburg. It is a book to be consulted; few will care to read it straight through. There are some very useful and unique tables and maps, and the bibliographical essay is excellent.

The book is at the same time disappointing. Unimportant and important events are mentioned without sufficient selectivity and emphasis. The steps leading to the conclusion of agreements are detailed, but the agreements themselves are not analyzed. Thus the terms of the British guarantee pacts to Poland, Rumania, and Greece or the terms of the various armistice agreements are passed over. The latter particularly bear close scrutiny for actually they laid much of the basis for later Soviet domination of eastern Europe. It may be noted that the treaties of the Little Entente were directed at Hungary and Bulgaria, not Hungary and Austria (p. 20); it is hard to see how the Greek premier's correct denial of commitments to the Little Entente resulted in the Balkan Entente becoming "a frail instrument, replete with reservations" (p. 72); with the Spanish Civil War in full blast it is scarcely correct to say: "But on the surface, nothing conspicuous happened throughout Europe in the year 1937. Indeed, this was the last year of full European peace . . ." (p. 73); France did not cede the Sanjak of Hatay to Turkey in 1937 but in 1939 (p. 740, n.4); it seems a strange evaluation of fascism to state that "... Italian neutrality would have kept the ideological slate clear, and the spiritual forces of Western civilization would not have been so utterly rent . . ." (p. 265); in view of the secret treaties during World War I it seems incorrect to say that 1940 was the first time in history that Britain acquiesced in "Russia's overlordship of the eastern part of the continent as the only possible alternative to the German domination of the whole of Europe" (p. 317); and the Königsberg section of East Prussia has become part of the R.S.F.S.R. and not part of the Byelorussian S.S.R. (p. 673).

With 124 two-column pages of footnotes to 700 pages of text one might expect the volume to be well documented. Yet here is where the volume leaves most to be desired. Besides being inconveniently grouped at the back of the book and numbered anew with each section, the footnotes are frequently discursive and not always pertinent. Since the bibliography is not listed alphabetically it is impossible to check a reference there. Nor of great use are titles of books without page

references or such general citations as "International Military Tribunal—Ribbentrop Testimony" or "*The Nineteenth Century and After*, 1944." Many direct quotations in the text as well as in the footnotes do not have citations. One of the main purposes of documentation is to act as a guide and aid to others in the field, and it would have been helpful had not so many episodes with which the author is conversant been passed over without citation. Nevertheless the book as a whole will be valued by all as a mine from which much information and assistance can be quarried.

Bowdoin College

E. C. HELMREICH

AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND RUSSIA: THEIR CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT, 1941-1946. By *William Hardy McNeill*, Assistant Professor of History, The College, University of Chicago. [Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946. Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xviii, 819. \$15.00.)

THIS is an excellent survey of the crucially important co-operation of the United States, Great Britain, and Soviet Russia against the Axis Powers from December, 1941, to February, 1945, and of the tragic, though seemingly inevitable, breakdown of that co-operation from February, 1945, to December, 1946. The author writes with clarity and liveliness on the military, political, and economic bases of Allied co-operation, and shows great skill in presenting the plans and factors that determined the course of events. He relies exclusively upon published source-materials and the main secondary accounts available in English, French, and Italian. This limits the extent of "inside" revelations that he is able to make, but he has had the benefit of counsel from persons familiar with the events narrated, who remain anonymous, in accordance with Chatham House policy. The influence of Professor Arnold Toynbee's teachings is acknowledged.

Historians will find especially useful his lucid presentation of the complex questions affecting the conduct of the war and the postwar peace settlements. The sketches of the personal characteristics of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin, and of various minor figures are vivid and suggestive, though not profound. The last chapter embodies the author's reflections on certain changes fostered by World War II: the growth of supranational administration; Britain's relative decline as a Great Power; the changed scale of international politics with the emergence of America and Russia as the super-Powers of the world; the stimulus given to the great hope for international peace, prosperity, freedom, and justice in our time; the increased power of the doctrine that social and economic relations are subject to rational control and conscious management.

Some criticisms and warnings deserve to be set down. The author strives to be impartial but reveals certain debatable presuppositions. He is a great, though occasionally critical, admirer of F.D.R. and his policies, domestic and foreign. He

is not enthusiastic about Churchill's domestic and imperial policies. He realizes the evils and dangers of Soviet Russia's totalitarian rule but seems to admire its "achievements" in social engineering without weighing the costs or consequences as critically as a John Dewey or Bertrand Russell might. Dr. McNeill seems to be inspired by a Hegelian belief that since the Great Powers and their leaders towered over the smaller Associated Powers, one has to accept their disposal of the fate of their lesser allies, notably Poland and Nationalist China, as inevitable, as necessary evils if not positive goods. He criticizes F.D.R.'s failure to understand the Marxist outlook of Stalin (p. 565), but he himself reveals a failure to understand the consistent drive of the leaders of Soviet Russia and of the Communist International for world power. Hence he falls down in his interpretations of Soviet Russia's and Stalin's behavior and objectives throughout most of the volume, because he believes an enigma exists which a more thorough background knowledge of communist doctrine and practice would have saved him from seeing. The critical reader will want to turn for further light and correction on these matters to such works as Franz Borkenau, *The Communist International*, and Stefan F. Possonby, *A Century of Conflict: Communist Techniques of World Revolution*.

Dr. McNeill rightly questions the wisdom of F.D.R.'s insistence upon "unconditional surrender" by the Axis Powers, but fails to carry out a systematic examination of the main errors in American strategy that resulted in Soviet Russia's expansion or extension of power in eastern and central Europe and the Far East. Hanson W. Baldwin's *Great Mistakes of the War* rectifies the balance here. On the internal struggles for power between different groups in Washington, Eliot Janeway's *The Struggle for Survival* is a more reliable guide than the authorities Dr. McNeill relies upon. These deficiencies in the book under review should not obscure its many merits.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

THE UNITED STATES AND ITALY. By *H. Stuart Hughes*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 256. \$4.00.)

THE conjunction between the two weighty substantives in the title of Professor Hughes's volume seems most pertinent to his major purpose. This is a fine and lively work on contemporary Italy written by a well-informed American historian for Americans. Its premise that, despite appearances, modern Italy has been something of an unknown land in urgent need of rediscovery seems almost beyond dispute. With the Second World War and the strange peace that has followed it, it has become impelling not only for intellectual but also for high political purposes that the real truth be sought, that image and reality attain less than an occasional or coincidental resemblance. This book is a very serious and successful effort toward achieving that end.

Mr. Hughes has put an enviable literary talent at the service of a vast and perceptive reading and personal experience of the contemporary political scene in Italy and its geo-historical, socio-economic, and moral-cultural foundations and development. Knowledge of "the land and its people" (pp. 14-43) and understanding of the awesome "legacy of history" (pp. 44-68), even if perhaps over-concise, help Mr. Hughes and his reader toward an appreciation of the tenacity and complexity of some of the gravest of the Italian problems. Poverty and the "question of the South," institutional weaknesses and a sort of continuous moral crisis are seen as functions of a fluid pattern in which frustration seems perennially pitted against hope, disillusionment against great expectations, and grave political defections against magnificent political promise. If the democratic regimes tended to underrate these dichotomies of Italian life, the Fascist experiment sought to compress them into an ineffective mold. These contradictions could not be resolved by official fiat and a policy of futile distraction. Mussolini castigated or cut off, flattered or neutralized his victims and gained the approbation and support of the Italian social and economic ruling classes which lived in almost continuous fear of violent conflict and sudden change. In its own way the nation conformed. But the true Achilles' heel of the regime lay not in these apparent successes but in the one signal failure that ultimately brought it to disaster. Professor Hughes emphasizes the "historical irony" which turned Fascism into a victim of a "trap" it had helped to set through the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis.

Victory in the First and defeat in the Second World War apparently brought Italy to a similar end. "In 1945, as in 1919, Italy appeared to be on the verge of a political and social revolution" (p. 143). In each case "frustration and disillusionment" triumphed, though Fascism reaped the fruits in 1922 while democracy, if as that special brand known as Christian, seemed the beneficiary in 1948. Mr. Hughes rightly emphasizes one of the most significant facts in contemporary Italian politics: the tragedy, both real and symbolical, in the fall of Ferruccio Parri in November, 1945. In the political jungle wherein the lions and the foxes vied for power and success, perhaps there could be no place for Parri's "appealing and tragic figure," "tempered through long suffering," and possessed of a "Lincolnian grandeur" (pp. 149-50). The "disarmed prophet," like Savonarola and Mazzini before him, perhaps had to "perish"! Whatever the reason, the fall of Parri became a sort of original sin of the new Italian democracy. The institutional victory of June, 1946, and the democratic triumph of April, 1948, important as they undoubtedly were, did not erase or lighten it on the Italian political conscience. The polarization of faiths and classes and interests which since that dark November, 1945, has characterized Italian political life has not been identical to the existence of a choice between valid alternatives. A democracy so critically dominated by contingency must always be preferred to one directed by unscrupulous expediency, but a democracy without qualifications cannot but be preferable

to either approximation. Not in the tumult and the shouting of activists of Left and Right in the squares of Italy does the true hope of the new Italian democracy lie, but in the still obscure, voiceless, and tenacious dedication of a large majority of Italians to a realization of a democracy in fact as well as in tendency.

As Professor Hughes so intelligently makes clear in the analytical sections of his book, a resolution of the continuing Italian "economic dilemma," particularly through the adoption and actualization of a more organic agrarian program; the constructive treatment of the acute demographic problem not by impossible schemes but by active international co-operation; and, not least, a more serious effort in Italy itself for a less relative "normalization" of its political life, might help tremendously not merely the Italian but the American cause as well. In co-operating with Italy in achieving some of these ends, the United States will be serving its own as well as the interests of the new Italian democracy.

New York University

A. WILLIAM SALOMONE

SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF COMMUNISM. By *Jules Monnerot*.

Translated by *Jane Degras* and *Richard Rees*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1953. Pp. 339. \$6.00.)

THERE have in recent years appeared a number of studies on the sociology or psychology of religion, but here is a work which adds a whole new dimension to the genre by dealing with communism as itself a new religion—the first new world religion since Islam. Soviet communism is a vast subject which has ordinarily been chopped up for treatment in accordance with the disciplinary approaches appropriate to the secular West and without adequate consideration of the possibility that it may be a phenomenon of a basically different order to begin with. It is the merit of the present work by Jules Monnerot that it goes further in dealing with the fundamentals of this problem than perhaps any other study.

Democratic leaders, says Monnerot, are "reasonable men" who wish to "do business" and to give and take in accordance with recognized rules. But the Communist leaders (or the Nazi leaders of a while back) are not reasonable in this sense. Theirs is a design for conquest and a sense of religious mission for the destruction of the non-Communist world to which ordinary secular terms do not apply, for the gulf which separates the two worlds is, among other things, a religious gulf. There is, in Toynbee's phrase, a "schism in the soul, a schism in the social body" in Europe today such as did not exist even in the days of the Reformation. A fundamentally new religion has emerged in the West for the first time since the rise of Christianity itself, and unlike that earlier occasion the new religion has won support not only among the "internal and external proletariats" but also from the largest empire the world has ever known.

Monnerot traces the origin of the new religion back to Karl Marx and the western Europe of the nineteenth century when the old social order was col-

lapsing and out of its "de-structuring" the rootless masses were beginning to appear. These masses were not the same as the proletarian class (which came to have a recognized position in society), and Monnerot points out that Marx's ideology, being based on the class rather than the mass, was to prove largely irrelevant to the movement which today operates in his name. What Monnerot is concerned with, however, is not ideology but myth; for, unlike ideology, myth has the power of releasing action. Myths are for the masses what obsession is for the neurotic, a summons and a release; and a totalitarian religion, says Monnerot, is a sort of "endemic neurosis" in that it imposes neurotic behavior on all, even its normal, adherents.

From this point on the reader has to dig for meaning in Monnerot's rich though often disordered exposition, but it is possible to conclude that in the industrial West the rootless masses were ultimately (or, in the case of Germany, temporarily) assimilated as proletarians and that the raw myth of socialism was intellectualized into the ideology of *Das Kapital* and the Second International. In Russia, however, 1905 found the German position of 1848 repeated, and Lenin not only restored the mass and the myth, the neurosis and the deed to their former primacy, but he also and successfully applied in practice the technique of "permanent revolution" which Marx had first elaborated in theory in 1850. Especially did Lenin devise, as a sort of diabolical Church Militant, the new instrument of a conspiratorial party which, operating in the guise of a political movement, nevertheless contained within itself the monopolistic claims of an irreconcilable religion. This new instrument, at once party, army, and church, has since 1917 had at its disposal the resources of one of the great peoples, and the largest empire, in history. Under the pretense of separating state and church (i.e., the Christian church) it has established the most totalitarian theocracy ever known. The new theology is based on an "immanentism" in which "History" doubles as "God" and is mystically personified on three ascending levels, first as the proletarian class, then as the Communist party, and finally as the party leadership. What these last, like all priesthoods, possess (or what possesses them), says Monnerot, is eschatology—"the knowledge of the final end of history and of the best means of attaining it"—together with a messianic sense of their own supreme mission therein. And, thanks to twentieth-century technique, the party leaders are propelled into action by a "dictatorship of means" for which there is no parallel in the Holy Wars of the past and which in our day appears to make the visions of the Apocalypse a matter of "deeds not words."

Monnerot's book should, if it did nothing else, demonstrate that in addition to the many college courses on *Russian* history, where communism appears as a subordinate concern, there might also be courses on *Communist* history where Russia appears as the "first conquered territory." For such a course Monnerot's own work would be basic, if not always easy, reading.

George Washington University

RONALD THOMPSON

Ancient and Medieval History

L'ORIENT ET LA GRÈCE ANTIQUE. By *André Aymard* and *Jeannine Auboyer*. General Introduction by *Maurice Crouzet*. [Histoire générale des civilisations, t. I.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1953. Pp. xii, 701.)

DURING the past thirty years French scholars concerned with the problems of historical synthesis have produced several excellent co-operative histories. All of us are indebted to the well-known works edited by Berr, Glotz, Cavaignac, to the "Clio" series, and above all to the brilliant "Peuples et civilisations," edited by L. Halphen and Ph. Sagnac. On more than one occasion, after reading in the latter work, the present reviewer has exclaimed to himself, "This is exactly the way history should be written!" These volumes appeared in the period between the two world wars, and they have since introduced countless American students to scholarly work in European history. Now the publishers of this series have launched another, under the title "Histoire générale des civilisations," edited by Maurice Crouzet and addressed to the "general reader." In seven large volumes its authors will discuss the various civilizations of the world—not merely those of western Europe. The opening volume of the new collection, *L'Orient et la Grèce antique*, by André Aymard and Jeannine Auboyer, has now appeared. About the size of a volume in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, it is beautifully printed on large pages and embellished with thirty-four maps or plans and forty-eight illustrations. The publishers have spared neither pains nor expense in making an attractive volume.

M. Aymard is primarily a student of Greek history, with a special interest in Hellenistic times. The best chapters in his book are those covering this period, which he treats at considerably more than usual length and with pleasing independence. Thus his pages on the relations of Greeks and Orientals in Egypt and Syria, the resistance of the latter to Greek culture, and the orientalization of the Greeks, come as a welcome correction of those writers who can see only the superficial Hellenization of the Near East. Unfortunately the chapters dealing with classic Greece seem more perfunctory, and those concerned with the ancient Orient are even less satisfactory. It is especially regrettable that, in a history of world civilization, Neolithic times should be dismissed in two brief paragraphs, especially as we now have materials enabling us to treat in illuminating detail these millennia during which foundations were laid for all the later cultures of the Near East.

The author treats each of the higher civilizations in a section following a standard pattern. First he describes its political institutions, then its economic and social life (usually the most interesting chapter in the section), then its religious ideas and other intellectual attainments, and finally he mentions the artistic creations of the period. Political and military history is largely omitted, and only rarely are individuals mentioned. Even the brief notices of literary men and phi-

losophers contain few suggestions that these persons had anything important to say. In fact, we are likely to come away with the impression that the creators of these ancient civilizations were not creating anything at all but merely living and marking time in that state of life into which they were born. Such persons may perhaps preside gracefully over the decline of a great civilization, but they cannot create one. Perhaps the main trouble with the book is the arrangement of everything according to a stereotyped pattern which leaves no place for life or action. The author is a scholar of high distinction, but no history written according to a cast-iron formula can give the vivid and suggestive picture of the great civilizations of antiquity that we had a right to expect of him.

The last hundred pages of the volume are devoted to a sketch of the Indian and Chinese civilizations, from their beginnings to about the time of Christ, by Mlle. Auboyer.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

AGRICOLA AND ROMAN BRITAIN. By *Andrew Robert Burn*, Senior Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of Glasgow. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1953. Pp. x, 182. \$2.00.)

ROMAN GAUL. By *Olwen Brogan*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 250. \$4.25.)

BOTH of the books under review here bear the imprint of European classical scholarship: easy familiarity with materials and sources, which may be termed humanistic without the imputation of enthusiasm as a substitute for knowledge.

Mr. Burn's biography of Agricola might very well be assigned to a new literary genre, the Herodotean novel. Reliance upon lively description and reasonable fiction gives it many of the aspects of a novel. "But for her [Julia], who had been the wife of Graecinus, there could be no other man." "Agricola's mother no doubt thought he looked older. She might well." The story also involves digressions on a wide variety of appropriate topics, all set forth with gusto. The circumstances of Agricola's early years in Forum Julii, for example, lead to a vivid description of a naval base that had seen better days, thence to a discussion of Roman citizenship and veteran colonization, the imperial service, standards of wealth and its inequalities (the minimum property of a "knight" equaled the prevailing rate of pay for 100,000 man-days of manual labor), and the experiences of Agricola's immediate forebears with the imperial household. All this in chapter one (out of sixteen, with epilogue), to which should be added Mr. Burn's felicitous characterization of Augustus as a combination of Napoleon and Queen Victoria (p. 20). The reviewer has added this to his repertoire of classroom obiter dicta; without acknowledgment, needless to say.

We then follow young Agricola to Marseilles in chapter two, with excursions into the history of Massilia, the pre-Claudian history of Britain, along with a sur-

vey of ancient philosophy. (If Mr. Burn could have had access to N. W. DeWitt's very recent *Epicurus and His Philosophy*, he perhaps would have reconsidered his conventional but inaccurate treatment of Epicureanism on pp. 21-22.) As soon as the scene moves to ancient Britain, the North American reader may be somewhat less interested than Mr. Burn in the minutiae of topography and tactics. The details, however, have their impact; and the American reader will learn much about the Roman army (esp. pp. 31-34), life under Nero (chap. v), and gain throughout a clearer understanding of the empire, especially in regard to the "Romanization" of Britain as a case of overextension—something more than the empire could manage, culturally, strategically, and financially. Here the evidence provided by British archaeologists, new to most of us, is to the point.

Mrs. Brogan's book is likewise not for the expert but "an introduction to students and travellers who may wish to get a general picture of Roman Gaul, its history, and its chief monuments." The book will be valuable (beyond its interest for the "general reader") for students and teachers of Caesar, as well as pertinent to the reserve list for courses in general Roman history. The reviewer has been at a loss for many years to find good "background" reading for high-school Latin teachers, actual or prospective. (They rarely read French.) Mrs. Brogan's interests and field of special competence lead, however, to a certain *mélange* consisting of history—based to a considerable degree on archaeological evidences—and straight Baedeker. The latter, while useful for reference and for its total impression, is somewhat remote from the immediate purposes of the North American student, who has little prospect of traveling the *réseau routier national*. One may add the cavil, perhaps, that while Mrs. Brogan brings us up-to-date, with due regard for recent scholarship, on the history of Gaul through the period of Julius Caesar and Augustus, we still view the Romanization of Gaul as an episode in Roman history, whereas a clearer view might result from the recognition of Gallic history as a continuing complex to which the Roman made practical concessions and adjustments of policy.

University of Minnesota

NORMAN J. DEWITT

PETER SPEAKS THROUGH LEO: THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451. By *Francis X. Murphy*, C.S.S.R. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1952. Pp. xii, 132. \$2.75.)

DR. Murphy has written a lively, clear, and temperate outline of the proceedings and dogmatic decrees of the Council of Chalcedon. He gives the fullest sketch of the subject yet published and bases his researches upon Eduard Schwartz's important, but hitherto little used, edition of the acts of the ecumenical councils. This merit Dr. Murphy's book shares with the excellent new series of studies on Chalcedon, edited by H. Bacht and A. Grillmeier, in their *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, of which two volumes have appeared.

Dr. Murphy is a Catholic, but he does not attempt to distort the facts to fit his confessional bias. He is naturally impressed by the theological significance of the famous *Tome* of Leo. But he shows, as the proceedings of Chalcedon amply demonstrate, that there was a feeling even among the bishops who found themselves in agreement with Leo's christological pronouncements, that there was need for a simpler dogmatic definition, which would avoid all ambiguity. It was for this reason, and as a result of the emperor's insistence, that the council finally produced the Creed of Chalcedon, which is the ecumenical criterion of orthodoxy in the matter of the relation between the two natures in Christ.

It is unfortunate that Murphy's book appeared too late for him to consult Lebon's admirable essay in the above-mentioned *Das Chalkedon*, in which Lebon rejects the traditional interpretation of the position of Eutyches as postulating "two natures before the Incarnation of the Word, but only one incarnate nature after" (Murphy, pp. 7, 13). As Lebon proves, the Monophysites never maintained that there was more than one nature in Christ, and always insisted that this one nature was divine. Furthermore, it is incorrect to say, as Murphy does (p. 5), that Pope Leo's "permission had been needed for the opening of the Council." Actually, as can be seen from Murphy's own treatment of the pertinent documents, Leo was opposed to the proposed council but could not question the right of the Byzantine emperor (Marcian, 450-457) to summon it (see also Goemans in *Das Chalkedon*, I, 251-89). Similarly, Murphy goes too far when he asserts (pp. 26 f.) that the right of the papal legates *praesidere* involved the presidency of the council. This was a function assigned to the emperor's officers, as Murphy himself makes clear in the course of his discussion.

The numerous translations of pertinent passages, which ought to prove of value to those hapless souls who read neither Latin nor Greek, are on the whole clear and accurate. Especially noteworthy is Murphy's version of Leo's *Tome*, which he thus makes available in convenient form. On page 77, however (line 8), Murphy makes the curious error of having the Council of Chalcedon repudiate the division of Christ into "many persons," where the Greek text, with Nestorianism in mind, has δύο πρόσωπα (two persons). Nevertheless, this is a minor blemish, and Dr. Murphy's book will prove useful to beginners as well as to scholars who wish to find their way quickly and easily through a great mass of sources.

Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University

MILTON V. ANASTOS

LA SOCIETÀ MILANESE NELL'ETÀ PRECOMUNALE. By *Cinzio Violante*.

[Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, no. 4.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli. 1953. Pp. xii, 307. L. 2000.)

THIS study of Milanese society in the ninth, tenth, and early eleventh centuries is an important contribution to the economic and social history of northern

Italy. Unusual breadth of treatment and a skillful use of the comparative method lift it above the level of a pedestrian local monograph and reveal the influence of Marc Bloch and his school. Part I, on the ninth and tenth centuries, is superior in quality to Part II, "Milanese Society in the Age of Ariberto," in which the author fails to convey a clear sense of direction.

Violante shows that the north Italian economy was by no means stagnant in the eighth and ninth centuries and that the tenth century in Milan was an age of rapid advance on all fronts. Some of his conclusions are by now commonplaces among economic historians, but he provides them with a firmer documentary basis for northern Italy than has hitherto been available. He differs from most scholars in placing the active resumption of commerce in the ninth century, the crucial point being the half-century between 875 and 925. Chapters III and V, "The Evolution of the Agrarian Economy" and "The Development of Feudal Society," in which the world of nascent commerce is related to its feudal and manorial environment, are probably the most original chapters in the book; they fill a serious gap in the standard accounts of feudal and seignorial institutions by providing a thoughtful and well-documented discussion of feudalism and manorialism in northern Italy and a comparison of Italian developments with those in France and Germany. Italian feudalism, according to Violante, developed very late and depended much less upon a manorial substructure than did feudalism in the north. Not until the end of the tenth century was feudalism established in northern Italy as a jurisdictional system. Violante accepts, with some modifications, Visconti's thesis that feudalism in the Milanese dates from the infeudation of the parishes made by Archbishop Landolfo in 983 which created a new governing class, the *capitanei*.

In chapter IV, "The Formation of New Urban Classes," Violante joins Les-tocquoy in seeking the origins of the urban patriciate. Included in this chapter is a statistical study of the prices of land and houses in Milan which reveals a sharp inflation in the last third of the tenth century. Violante does not discern the obvious connection between this rise in the price level and the consolidation of Milanese feudalism through the concession of parishes with their tithes of agricultural produce. Much clearer is his insight into the character of tenth-century feudalism, which was "no longer rigid, static, polarized in its two extremes, the conflicting interests of the oppressed classes and their oppressors, but was both dynamic and hierarchical at the same time" (p. 163). The movement of society was not a crude opposition between two classes but a simultaneous ascent of several classes, in which many members of the lower orders bettered their status, not by attacking feudalism but by winning a place in the feudal hierarchy. As far as northern Italy is concerned, this book brings ample confirmation to the newer interpretation of the tenth century presented by R. S. Lopez in his memorable article, "Still Another Renaissance?" in the October, 1951, issue of this *Review*.

Carleton College

CATHERINE E. BOYD

DER STAAT DES HOHEN MITTELALTERS: GRUNDLINIEN EINER VERGLEICHENDEN VERFASSUNGSGESCHICHTE DES LEHNSZEITALTERS. By *Heinrich Mitteis*. (4th ed.; Weimar: Hermann Böhlau. 1953. Pp. xi, 483. DM 20.)

THOUGH this is the fourth edition of the work of an eminent German medievalist, the book has not been previously noticed in this *Review*. The fact that the first two editions appeared in 1940 and 1943 respectively explains the apparent neglect of an important study in comparative constitutional history. Mitteis discusses in detail the institutions of Germany, Italy, France, and England during the feudal period (with brief chapters on the Slavic, Scandinavian, and Spanish kingdoms). A treatment of this scope, by a master of the subject, deserves careful attention.

The title suggests two of the chief theses of the work. The idea of the State did not vanish in the early Middle Ages but became incorporated in the person of the king. The character and future of a medieval state were largely determined by the kind of feudalism that developed within it. Mitteis quite rightly argues that feudalism was harmful to the state only when it developed in a lopsided or incomplete manner and that the most successful medieval governments were those which grew out of the most perfect types of feudalism. Conversely, Germany suffered because feudalism there came late, never included all lands or lords, and stressed the rights of the great vassals rather than their duties.

The references in the footnotes (with the exception of those on thirteenth-century France) would make an excellent bibliography of early European constitutional history, and testify to the wide reading and sound scholarly judgment of the author. Yet no man could be equally familiar with the history of four great countries over seven centuries, and the chapters on England are less sure than those on Germany or Italy. Mitteis himself was aware of this; the most important corrections in the fourth edition (which he made shortly before his death) are in the English chapters. It is also true that in attempting to explain the success of English (or French) rulers he at times dwells on the legal letter rather than the political substance. Thus (like many other German scholars) he tends to over-emphasize the importance of the principle of the Salisbury Oath. Surely such reservations of loyalty to the king had little importance until the king had enough power to protect the rear-vassal from his immediate lord. On the other hand, looking at England and France from a German viewpoint, Mitteis sees the significance of certain ideas and institutions which were lacking in his own country, and thus is able to throw new light on the constitutional development of the Western monarchies.

Mitteis' treatment of Germany and Italy (for example, his clear explanations of changes in the administration of justice and of the growth of the great principalities) is especially helpful to foreign scholars. He perhaps underestimates (like many of his colleagues) the deleterious, if unavoidable consequences of the revival

of the Empire, and thus places too much responsibility for the final collapse on the Hohenstaufen. But criticism of detail should not obscure the fact that this is an important and stimulating book. Few men have had the courage to attempt a comparative study of this breadth, and Mitteis was far more successful than any of his predecessors.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

LE COMMERCE MARITIME NORMAND A LA FIN DU MOYEN AGE:
ETUDE D'HISTOIRE ECONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE. By *Michel Mollat*,
Professeur a la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lille. (Paris: Librairie
Plon. 1952. Pp. xxxv, 617.)

IN 1845 the Académie de Rouen proposed as a topic for investigation the history of that city's maritime commerce to the end of the sixteenth century; the prize essay by Ernest de Fréville, published in 1857, enjoyed an immediate and lasting success. The present massive study parallels closely the last half-dozen chapters of Fréville's work and a detailed comparison of the two books might serve as a fair measure of the progress of mercantile history in the last hundred years. M. Mollat has widened the field to include other Norman ports as well as Rouen and has shortened the time-span, beginning only after the golden age of expansion had been checked in the fourteenth century by a series of disasters, acts of God and acts of evil men. He contents himself with a brief introductory survey of conditions during the later phases of the Hundred Years' War, an era of mercantile stagnation broken only by a brief and illusory prosperity while Henry V and Bedford linked Normandy to English markets. The study proper begins with 1450 and carries to about 1540; of its three well-defined sections, two are purely descriptive, the last analytical.

Part I deals with economic conditions during the quarter-century following the English withdrawal from Normandy. They left behind a province ruined by war and enemy occupation: capital depleted, buildings destroyed, farm stock consumed, port facilities wrecked; industry without raw materials, its labor supply displaced; commerce hampered by an unstable currency, shortage of commodities and disrupted markets. To a French scholar writing on the morrow of World War II this must have seemed a painfully familiar picture, without even a Marshall Plan to lighten the shadows. In spite of enduringly favorable geographical factors and the energy of its citizens, Normandy's trade languished in the uneasy peace. Piracy and privateering were prevalent and in the tortuous diplomacy of Lancaster and York, France and Burgundy, licenses to trade and safe-conducts decreased rather than eliminated risks. Thus only mediocre success attended efforts to reopen the traditional markets of England, the Low Countries, and the Atlantic ports to the south and the long depression dragged on into the 1470's.

The revival began soon after 1475 when treaties negotiated by Louis XI re-

moved the worst barriers to foreign trade; before 1500 recovery was more than complete and by the 1530's Norman commerce had undergone an important transformation as well as revival. Here the author traces two related processes—the quickening of exchange within the old cadre of medieval markets, commodities, and routes; and the opening of new contacts. It was the former process that first gave substance to recovery, in which the restoration of agriculture and the revival of industry (both in the traditional textile and metallurgical crafts and in such new trades as bookmaking and card-printing) were intimately associated with commerce. Conversely, it was the enlarged horizon that was more immediately connected with the commercial revolution. As the early explorers pushed down the African coast to round the Cape and reach the Indies, and as they found their way to the Americas, Norman merchants, fishermen, and corsairs began to profit from the new discoveries. The routes thus opened gave to the trade of northern Europe an Atlantic orientation highly favorable to Rouen and its sister ports and the price increases after 1520 added to the gains derived from the exotic products of three continents. Spices came via Lisbon, not the Levant; brazil from South America competed successfully with dyes from the Mediterranean, the Newfoundland cod with the North Sea herring.

In Part III the author has analyzed a number of factors contributing to the development of commerce: its economic milieu; shipping and ports; money and credit; the forms of business associations; the role of government. The most important factor, however, he finds in the initiative and enterprise of individuals, an interpretation which lends special interest to his last two chapters, which describe the society of the new era, as the new rich and foreigners jostle the old burgher families and as the new wealth affects the cultural and spiritual life of the towns.

To understand fully the stages by which the medieval economy gave way to the modern would require, M. Mollat believes, a number of regional studies as yet lacking. One may hope that when such are done they may combine, in some such measure as his own, imagination with a wide documentation.

University of Chicago

JAMES LEA CATE

Modern European History

EWIGER FRIEDE: FRIEDENSRUFE UND FRIEDENSPLÄNE SEIT DER RENAISSANCE. By *Kurt von Raumer*. [Orbis Academicus: Geschichte der politischen Ideen in Dokumenten und Darstellungen.] (Freiburg and Munich: Verlag Karl Alber. 1953. Pp. xii, 556. DM 28.)

It is only a surface paradox that the growth of the modern state should have been accompanied by an unprecedented preoccupation with the definition and

attainment of peace. This paradox has been nourished by a somewhat romanticized view of the Middle Ages as an era with a predominant sense of Christian solidarity as opposed to the era of the *raison d'état*. In reality, medieval feudalism was a society for warriors. Furthermore a theoretical condemnation of war was not possible when thinking men were preoccupied primarily with peace with God rather than with peace among men. It was the secular power state of the sixteenth century which gave birth to a new European consciousness, ranging from the balance of power all the way to outright organizations for peace. Indeed a secularized society led men to consider peace on this earth and, concomitantly, the condemnation of war.

Considerations such as these form the background of Professor Kurt von Raumer's work on peace plans since the Renaissance. The first part of the book is devoted to a discussion of Erasmus, Sebastian Franck, Sully and Crucé, Penn and Bentham, Saint-Pierre and Rousseau, and finally Kant and Gentz. The second part consists of substantial selections from the texts. Together, discussion and selections reflect closely the intellectual history of three centuries, from Erasmus' nearly utopian faith in man as he should be to Kant's acute awareness of the imperfections of man as he is. The deeply religious motivation of Franck—according to whom war is “God's plague”—finds a place beside the calculating utilitarianism of Bentham. Besides moral schemes for peace like that of Erasmus—whom Huizinga called an “unpolitical mind”—primarily political plans are discussed, such as Sully's *grand dessein* for a federated Europe. Professor von Raumer justly sees in Kant's work on eternal peace the culmination of eighteenth-century thought on that matter. Kant's pessimism about the nature of man protected him from mere utopia, and his vigorous ethical sense saved him from cynicism. Clearly, for Kant peace was not a bloodless abstraction but an ethical and political goal. Indeed his ideas found their way into European diplomacy through his able disciple, the “secretary of Europe,” Friedrich Gentz.

The volume under consideration offers us a perspective from which to view contemporary problems. Sebastian Franck asked whether obedience excuses the crimes of a soldier. Kant asked whether soldiering was an honorable profession. Again and again the question is raised: which is criminal—war itself, or merely criminality in war? All these issues were at stake in the Nuremberg trials. Again, recurring complaints about the increasing lawlessness of wars have been stimulating plans for the control of warfare; these complaints have not died down in our atomic age. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the Turkish danger directly or indirectly affected all thinking about European peace; in our era it is the Russian danger which has furthered the various attempts at a European integration.

It is, however, regrettable that this fine, scholarly volume should stop with the eighteenth century and does not lead us through the nineteenth century to the present. The title of the book does not suggest any such limitation. Is it there-

fore to be hoped that the excellent series "Orbis Academicus" will be enriched by another volume on peace plans since the eighteenth century?

Smith College

KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

HUNTED HERETIC: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MICHAEL SERVETUS, 1511-1553. By *Roland H. Bainton*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 270. \$3.75.)

MICHEL SERVET: HÉRÉTIQUE ET MARTYR, 1553-1953. By *Roland H. Bainton*, Yale University. [Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance, VI.] (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz. 1953. Pp. 148.)

AUTOUR DE MICHEL SERVET ET DE SEBASTIEN CASTELLION. Edited by *B. Becker*, Professeur à l'Université d'Amsterdam. (Haarlem, Holland: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon. 1953. Pp. vii, 302. F 15.00.)

MICHAEL Servetus was burned at the stake in Geneva, on October 7, 1553. A few months later, in March, 1554, Sebastian Castellion published his treatise on the persecution of heretics, attacking the principles in the name of which Calvin had acted against Servetus. The fourth centenary of these events, which marked a memorable stage in the history of Western thought, has been admirably commemorated by Professor Bainton's life of Servetus and by a volume of essays on Servetus and Castellion sponsored by a committee established at the Ninth International Congress of Historical Sciences, in 1950.

Professor Bainton's biography, published simultaneously in French and English, is a fascinating account of one of the most interesting figures in the intellectual history of the sixteenth century. Within a very moderate compass, the author succeeds in giving us a detailed account of Servetus' career and placing the various aspects of his thought in the larger context of the conflicting traditions of the age of the Renaissance and Reformation. Servetus' anti-Trinitarian ideas, for example, are introduced by a brief survey of interpretations of the Trinity from Augustine to the later Middle Ages. In a particularly interesting chapter on Servetus as a doctor, Professor Bainton not only describes Servetus' discovery of the lesser circulation of the blood and his relation to his predecessors but also establishes a connection between his scientific thought and his religious beliefs. "For Servetus there was only an enhancement of the natural processes in ascending from respiration to inspiration, generation to regeneration, from sight to insight, from birth to re-birth in the spirit." It may be doubted whether this perception was the same as that of Tennyson when he contemplated the flower in the crannied wall, as Mr. Bainton asserts in the English, though not in the French, edition. The Renaissance view of the relation between the natural and the supernatural was not, and could not be, that of Victorian England; but much

sixteenth-century thought bears witness to the existence of a sense of fundamental unity such as is here so well described.

In discussing the *Restitutio Christianismi*, Professor Bainton has clarified the sources from which Servetus developed his doctrines. On the one hand, his association with Santes Pagnini and Symphorien Champier brought him into contact with the Neoplatonic tradition; and, on the other, the Anabaptist emphasis on the idea of the restitution of the primitive church profoundly influenced his view of Christianity in history.

The dramatic story of the final vicissitudes of Servetus' career, leading up to his martyrdom in Geneva, is told from the point of view of a deep understanding of the issues as they appeared to the contemporaries of Calvin. Professor Bainton does not draw from the history of Servetus and Calvin a specific lesson for toleration in the modern world. At the end he declares that the moral of the story is that "our slogans of liberty need continually to be thought through afresh," and he permits himself only the final remark that "seldom do we reflect that we who are aghast at the burning of one man to ashes for religion do not hesitate for the preservation of our culture to reduce whole cities to cinders."

The French edition published in Geneva by Mlle Droz and the American edition published by the Beacon Press present a revealing contrast between European and American bookmaking. The American edition is inferior in the quality of the paper, in typography and in the way the illustrations are reproduced. It is, furthermore, marred by a lurid paper jacket which gives the erroneous impression that the life of Servetus is being brought into the company of pocket thrillers.

The committee authorized by the Ninth Historical Congress has produced, under the editorship of Professor Becker of Amsterdam, a collection of seventeen essays, by scholars from France, Germany, Holland, Italy, and the United States, on various aspects of the lives, works, and significance of Servetus and Castellion. Some of the essays are on biographical points (F. Rude on the naturalization of Servetus, V. Saulnier on Castellion and Jean Rouxel). Others (R. Bainton on Servetus and earlier anti-Trinitarian speculation, J. F. Fulton on Servetus and the circulation of the blood, Cantimori on Castellion's relation to mysticism) attempt to fix more precisely the place of their subjects in a larger intellectual tradition. Still others (H. W. F. Stellway, J. van Andel) discuss the role of Castellion as educator and translator. The longest essay in the book, by Professor Stanislas Kot, describes the interesting history of the influence of Servetus on anti-Trinitarian speculation in Poland and Transylvania. In this essay Professor Kot announces the discovery in Stuttgart of a hitherto unknown work of Servetus, *Declarationis Jesu Christi filii Dei libri V*, with a preface which he attributes to Celio Secundo Curione of the liberal circle at Basel. Professor Kot promises an early edition of this work, which will be awaited with interest. Finally, the essays by J. Kuhn and E. Feist explore the basis and limits of toleration in all societies and the problem of religious liberty. Altogether this volume enlarges in many ways our knowledge

about Servetus and Castellion and reaffirms their significance in the history of thought.

Harvard University

MYRON P. GILMORE

THE TUDOR AGE. By *James A. Williamson*. [A History of England, edited by W. N. Medlicott.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 448. \$5.00.)

Dr. Williamson's book launches Longmans' new nine-volume history of England. This volume, covering the traditional period 1485-1603, is a compact account of the political history of England during those years. An astonishing amount of historical fact is packed within the covers of the book with skillful economy. The style is lucid and lively.

The traditional themes of Tudor history, the monarchy, the religious changes, and the war with Spain are all competently treated. As one might expect from this distinguished author, there is special emphasis on overseas expansion, particularly in the New World. The general quality of the book is high and shows easy familiarity with the latest bibliography in the field. The brief portraits of individual figures are especially apt. High competence is a keynote throughout the book.

It is impossible to quarrel with the general excellence of the book, given its announced framework. But there remains the larger question of the whole series, of which this is the inaugural volume. The series is announced as designed "to hold the interest of the general reader while it appeals at the same time to the student." For an American audience at least, this volume seems to fall between two stools. It is not sufficiently detailed for the advanced student; it is far too detailed for the college freshman. It lacks the breadth of content which would appeal to the general reader. Cultural history is excluded while social and economic topics get only passing treatment. The handling of detailed narrative is masterly but the general reader is likely to be overwhelmed by the very bulk of fact.

The question may well be raised whether at the present moment there is any place for a new co-operative history of England. The Oxford history is approaching completion; at quite another level the Pelicans have offered new and imaginative treatment. At any rate if a new series is to appear, one would hope for a less traditional approach than the severely chronological and almost exclusively political one of this volume. Dr. Williamson himself notes a typical difficulty raised by the conventional approaches. He records the departure of the first East India fleet, but since it returned after the death of Elizabeth, the results of the voyage cannot be included in the volume. The obvious shortcomings of a method by which economic and social history are sandwiched into the interstices of political narrative have long been obvious. It is unfortunate that this new series offers little promise to student or general reader of a fresh approach in this important area.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume VIII, 1660-1714. Edited by Andrew Browning, Professor of History in the University of Glasgow. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xxxii, 966. \$17.50.)

THE four hundred documents and excerpts in this work illustrate every aspect of British history during the period. The emphasis is strongly on the constitution, with about one fourth of the documents being derived from the *Statutes of the Realm* and the parliamentary journals. The balance come from more than one hundred different sources, many difficult of access, several of extreme rarity, and a few known hitherto only in manuscript. The documents are arranged under ten major headings: the monarchy, parliament (with a valuable section on parties), public finance, the church, local government and social life, trade and plantations, Scotland, Ireland, armed forces, and foreign affairs. Lastly, fifty contemporary character sketches are assembled to illustrate the careers of sovereigns and other personalities. Each of the several major topics is introduced by a brief essay, followed by a select bibliography; then follow documents illustrative of various subtopics. Thus under the general head of the monarchy forty-six documents illustrate the Restoration, royal prerogative, limitation of the prerogative, organs of the central government, and determination of the succession. The editorial introductions are admirably concise, although in the cases of statutes and judicial decisions some students will still prefer to consult Robertson's well-known *Select Statutes*, where each document is separately commented on, with reference to the literature. For the period of the later Stuarts, however, the volume under review is much richer in constitutional documents than Robertson's collection.

Burnet is the most frequently quoted single author, contributing more than twenty passages. His account of the Habeas Corpus Act might well have been omitted, in view of the criticism of Miss Klotz and Mr. Davies, in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III (1940), 469-70. The most original section deals with public finance, which is illustrated by a number of useful charts, accounts, and tabulations. Intellectual history is treated incidentally (under "Local Government and Social Life"), but the space allotted to this subject is too small to convey a just appreciation of the intellectual ferment of the age.

The critical bibliographies will do much to facilitate the work of students. A high degree of accuracy is achieved: a check of the several hundred titles revealed only one slip—T. F. Reddaway's *Rebuilding of London* is ascribed to W. G. Bell (p. 436). A number of fairly serious omissions exist, however, including Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*, the International Committee of Historical Sciences' *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter*, the Privy Council notes of Charles II and Clarendon, Duckett's *Penal Laws and Test Act*, Matthews' *Calamy Revised*, and others of equal importance. The maps deserve high praise: they have been specially drawn to illustrate such matters as inequalities in parliamentary representation, distribution of party strength, concentration of Nonconformists, and distribution of wealth. Four appendixes, dealing with reckonings of time, principal

officials, attendance at each meeting of parliament, and county representation, conclude the collection.

Few have done more to illuminate the period than Dr. Browning, and in this extremely comprehensive compilation he has assembled materials which should do much to stimulate research in, and foster understanding of, the intricate age of the later Stuarts.

Vanderbilt University

P. H. HARDACRE

THE NAVY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF POLICY, 1558-1727. By the Late Admiral Sir *Herbert Richmond*, Former Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History, and Master of Downing College, Cambridge. Edited by *E. A. Hughes*, Sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1953. Pp. 404. \$12.00.)

RICHMOND completed the manuscript in 1942. Wartime activities and uncertain health prevented his writing the projected second volume for which he had collected a considerable quantity of material and which would have carried the story through World War II. However, in 1946, shortly before his death, there appeared his *Statesmen and Sea Power*; its first 111 pages are in effect an abbreviated version of the book under review, while the remaining 260 pages are a condensed version of the volume he did not live to do.

The admiral was, with Mahan and Corbett, one of the three outstanding naval historians of this century. He had all the assets of a great historian, including a succinct and lucid style, a profound grasp of his subject, and a brilliant ability to analyze situations and to deduce from them fundamental principles. His last published work is a showcase for these talents. As regards his materials, he made full use of the more important secondary works and published collections of documents (to 1942).

The book "is not a study either of particular tactics or of strategy; it aims to show the broader intentions of successive ministers and how these were translated into action." That is, how did British statesmen use sea power in answering such perennial problems as those which first came into prominence in Elizabethan times: Should England make her major war effort on land or at sea? How could sea power be used most effectively—by concentrating on an enemy's trade or by striking at his fleet, which protected the trade? Other problems of sea power that had to be faced again and again pertained to the acquisition of overseas bases, the support of land operations, protection of trade, and enemy trading in neutral bottoms. With conditions changing all the time, the answers could not always be the same; but general principles of strategy were emerging by the early eighteenth century, such as the importance of forcing an enemy's surrender through economic pressure, and at the same time of making his main fighting force, rather than his merchant ships, the first and principal objective. Most important was the

heightened appreciation of sea power itself. Before Elizabeth's reign the army had been the sole instrument of offense; a century and a half later England's rulers were becoming aware that while sea power does not win wars, it enables wars to be won.

Unfortunately, the index is inadequate, dates are used too sparingly, there are no maps, operational details sometimes become rather tedious, and the price of the book is in the stratosphere. But these minor faults detract little from a unique and important work.

University of Hawaii

ARTHUR J. MARDER

HATTAR OCH MÖSSOR: I BORGARSTÅNDET, 1760-1766. By *Per Erik Brolin*. (Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln. 1953. Pp. 488.)

Hattar och Mössor: I Borgarståndet is a doctoral dissertation on the political parties, Hats and Caps, which struggled for the control of the Swedish parliament during the Age of Liberty, and which followed the collapse of the absolute monarchy upon the death of Charles XII.

The Age of Liberty has challenged many Swedish historians, who have most often viewed it from a distinct political, economic, or social point of view. Their interpretations have led to many contradictory opinions in the evaluation of the historical significance of the age, and it is doubtful that Brolin succeeds in arriving at conclusions which are more acceptable than those set forth earlier. Brolin seeks to broaden the scope of his interpretation at the same time that he concentrates upon a short period, the years 1760-1766, and upon the party struggles in one single estate, namely, that of the bourgeoisie. He has narrowed his field of concentration in this manner in order to be able to capture the significance of the party struggles and their social, economic, and political implications.

The Swedish government consisted of four separate estates—the nobles, the clergy, the bourgeoisie, and the peasants. The Hats had their main strength among the nobles and the bourgeoisie. Gradually the party acquired an influence and strength among the clergy and the peasants. During 1760-1762 the Hats faced a critical situation as their control over the nobles was shaken while the clergy and the peasants came to favor the Caps. But the Hats still controlled the bourgeoisie where the party strife in 1765 became a deciding factor. It ended advantageously for the Caps. Mr. Brolin seeks to study in great detail the changes in party loyalties as they occurred in the 1760-1762 and 1765-1766 parliaments. He examines the "election returns" of each city, what views and procedures may have influenced the results, and, finally, to what extent the course of events in the parliament may have influenced political realignment. He explores what groups of electors had supported the successful electee and what social and economic interests were represented. He reflects upon changes in the population of the cities. He enriches his account by adding information about the nature of party

organizations, party propaganda, and political debates, as he seeks to explain why the Caps returned to power.

The reviewer, no authority on the Age of Liberty in Sweden, is unable to pass judgment upon the work of Brolin. Perhaps he could venture the suggestion that the yardsticks which would be applicable to a contemporary election seem just a little out of place when measuring the eighteenth century. Is it not just such efforts, even though they might be called "scientific," which have lost history some prestige because they are easily confused with pedantry? Brolin's approach seems intelligent and scholarly, and his work provides an excellent and rewarding mental exercise. It is a striking example of the mature scholarship one expects to find in a Ph.D. dissertation from Scandinavia.

Augustana College

O. FRITIOF ANDER

RECUEIL DE DOCUMENTS RELATIFS AUX SÉANCES DES ETATS GÉNÉRAUX, MAI-JUIN 1789. Volume I, Part I, LES PRÉLIMINAIRES—LA SÉANCE DU 5 MAI. Préparé par l'Institut d'Histoire de la Révolution française de la Faculté des Lettres de Paris sous la direction de *Georges Lefebvre* et *Anne Terroine*. (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche scientifique. 1953. Pp. xxxii, 380.)

DESPITE the wealth of materials on the French Revolution, many aspects of that movement still await the attention of the historian. Of these aspects one of the most conspicuous, and one of the most significant, is the period of the Estates General, from May 5 to June 27, 1789. To the best of this reviewer's knowledge, Garrett's *Estates General of 1789* . . . is the only book in English on the subject as such; and there seems to be nothing comparable in French! Moreover, apart from a few collections, e.g., Brette's uncompleted *Recueil* . . . and Aulard's *Récit des séances des députés des communes* . . . , most of the primary sources for the actual proceedings are incomplete or unavailable. The present work (the first part of Volume I, which is to appear in three parts and is to be followed by a second volume) is designed to remedy the shortage of documents and should stimulate the production of new secondary studies.

The book opens with a characteristically modest preface by Georges Lefebvre and a learned *avant-propos* by Mlle Terroine, explaining the editorial techniques and procedures. Then follows a key to abbreviations, in itself a bibliography, in which even the location and shelf-marks of the items are indicated. And, before beginning the documents, a lengthy introduction (with three folding plates) deals with the buildings used for the Estates General, and provides a commentary on the one published volume of Brette's *Histoire des édifices*. . . . Chapters I and II (pp. 43-189) contain documents pertaining to the preliminaries, from April 23 through May 4; chapters III-VI (pp. 191-255) do likewise for May 5; chapter VII is devoted to an analysis and listing of the editions, reprints, etc., of the speeches

on that memorable day; and the seventy-eight pages of chapter VIII reproduce their texts. All the documents are supplemented with footnotes, annotations, and descriptive and critical notes, which represent the formidable erudition and painstaking care of true scholars. A brief documentary appendix, four pages of "Additions et rectifications," and a detailed table of contents complete the volume.

Once again scholars are indebted to the dean of French Revolution historians, and on this occasion to his paleographic archivist collaborator as well, for accumulating these materials from archives, libraries, and other depositaries throughout the length and breadth of France. May their efforts be rewarded by the early publication of the remaining volumes.

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

LA RÉVOLUTION INDUSTRIELLE EN FRANCE (1815-1848). By *Arthur Louis Dunham*. Translated from the English by *Louis Blanchard*. Foreword by *Charles Schmidt*. Preface by *Georges Bourgin*. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire économique et sociale.] (Paris: Librairie Marcel Rivière et Cie. 1953. Pp. xvi, 417. 1200 fr.)

It is evident from this volume that Professor Dunham uses the term "industrial revolution" in the now conventional sense of denoting merely the process of industrialization. At no time did this process take place as rapidly in France as in other modern industrial nations. The closest approach to an "industrial revolution" in the original sense of the term occurred under the Second Empire, but even this was far less dramatic than similar changes elsewhere. What the Restoration and the July Monarchy witnessed was the triumph of new processes of production in one branch of one large industry—cotton spinning—and the faint but important beginnings of new methods in other textile industries, in iron and related industries, in transportation, and in finance and business organization.

In delineating these changes the author has followed a well-established pattern for works of this nature. He deals successively with highways, waterways, railways, fuels and power, metallurgy, industrial raw materials, labor, capital, machinery, the cotton, woolen, linen, and silk industries, internal competition, influences from abroad, foreign markets, and the role of the state in industrial activity. He has utilized extensively not only the monographic literature, but to an extraordinary degree primary published sources such as reports of official and quasi-official public bodies, periodical and pamphlet literature, and contemporary scientific and scholarly publications. It is unlikely that his work will be superseded by any other based on the same type of source material. But the book is an example not only of the possibilities but also of the limitations of a work of synthesis based entirely on published sources. This is nowhere more evident than in the conclusion where, in attempting to assess the reasons for the relative retardation of French industrial growth, the author, with a passing reference to the restrictive

tariff policy and the obvious factor of unfavorable resources, is forced to fall back on the old clichés about French character—love of beauty and *luxe*, attachment to the soil, and so on. What is necessary for a fuller knowledge of the economic history of the nineteenth century and of the important problems of the why and wherefore of industrial development is research in archival collections, both public and private, and more sophisticated and rigorous analysis of such quantitative data as are available. No one is more aware of the need for further work along these lines than Professor Dunham; it is to be hoped that the young scholars who are entering this field will cultivate it as patiently and thoroughly as he has.

There are a few minor defects of scholarship which could be pointed out if space permitted, but these do not detract substantially from the whole. A twelve-page bibliography is appended, but, in common with many French scholarly productions, there is no index, and the accuracy and arrangement of the footnotes is abominable. Regrettably, it is also necessary to call attention to the preface by Georges Bourgin, which is in shockingly poor taste. His motives are not clear, but the effect is certainly not conducive to more amiable Franco-American scholarly relations.

On the other hand, the fact that the book was published in France is a significant token of greater international collaboration, and in contrast places the American university presses in a very bad light. This is most certainly a standard work of scholarship, worthy of perusal by all students of modern Europe. But, handy as it is as a work of synthesis, it presents little that is new for the specialist. The American readers for whom it is best suited—college and university students and scholars in related fields—are precisely those who are least likely to read it in the present edition.

University of Wisconsin

RONDO E. CAMERON

FRENCH OPINION ON WAR AND DIPLOMACY DURING THE SECOND EMPIRE. By *Lynn M. Case*, Associate Professor of European History, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 339. \$6.00.)

NAPOLEON III was extremely sensitive to public opinion and had his own version of a Gallup poll in the form of regular reports from the prefects and *procureurs généraux*. These reports, as well as other manifestations of public feeling, were carefully studied and consulted before important decisions were made. So practiced did the imperial administration become in "feeling the public pulse," that it was able correctly to "anticipate" what public reaction would be in various situations, as during the two weeks immediately preceding the declaration of war against Prussia.

Professor Case gives an impressive list of instances in which public opinion decisively influenced the actions of Napoleon III:

hastening the peace in 1856, delaying the Austro-Sardinian War, contributing to the sudden armistice at Villafranca, preventing the government from abandoning the pope's temporal power, pressing the government to return to Rome in 1867, compelling it to protest in favor of the insurgent Poles, insisting on territorial compensations in the direction of the Rhine, and rejecting an effective army bill. In two instances opinion stood out as the strongest influence in determining major decisions: in swaying the emperor against forceful intervention after Sadowa and in forcing the government to take a firm stand on the Spanish throne question and to declare war after the Ems dispatch.

Nevertheless, governmental actions did not always follow the dictates of popular opinion. Professor Case is careful to point out that the emperor often attempted to form or alter public opinion, and, in at least two instances, the Austrian War and the Mexican expedition, continued in his policy despite unfavorable public feeling.

Professor Case writes in a judicious and scholarly fashion, is fully aware of the limitations of the sources available, and does not attempt to draw unwarranted conclusions. Moreover, he has uncovered much new material and is able to correct many older views of the diplomacy of the Second Empire. Although this book is the most thoroughgoing study ever made of French opinion under Napoleon III, Professor Case wisely restricts it to opinion on war and diplomacy and does not attempt to re-cover ground which has already been exhaustively treated by himself in an earlier work (*French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-1867*, New York, 1936) and by Gordon Wright ("Public Opinion and Conscription in France, 1866-1870," *Journal of Modern History*, XIV [1942], 26-45).

This reviewer has only one quarrel with what is otherwise an admirable book. In his concluding remarks, Professor Case questions the ability of public opinion to initiate or support "a proper and successful" foreign policy. He asserts that the ordinary citizen "cannot know enough about, nor make wise decisions on, foreign policy." Yet throughout the book Professor Case indicates that the average Frenchmen had perhaps a truer instinct for what constituted France's interests than did the emperor. One might well ask if the "Gallic bull" would have been so quick to charge at Bismarck's "red flag" had the French public been aware of France's diplomatic and military unpreparedness in 1870. What Professor Case proves is not the inability of public opinion to carry on a successful foreign policy but rather the inability of an *uninformed* or *misinformed* public opinion to carry on such a policy.

It is unfortunate that this excellent book, so essential to students of the Second Empire, is priced beyond the reach of many scholars.

Case Institute of Technology

MELVIN KRANZBERG

THE NEMESIS OF POWER: THE GERMAN ARMY IN POLITICS, 1918-1945. By John W. Wheeler-Bennett, Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford,

(London: Macmillan and Company; New York: St. Martin's Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 829. \$12.00.)

WHEELER-Bennett has done it again. To his previous books, on Hindenburg, on the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk, and on the Munich conference, which have won him high renown, he has added a fourth one which should prove at least equally successful. Familiar with the German scene through frequent visits and diligent research, this outstanding British expert on German affairs not only met many of the key figures but was also given access to important unpublished source material, was allowed to scrutinize secret files, and was even permitted to view documentary German films captured by the Allies at the end of the last war. In brief, there is scarcely another writer so well qualified to deal with German history from 1918 to 1945.

Wheeler-Bennett rightly interprets the Weimar Republic as dominated by the army. He shows how their oath of loyalty to the monarch was superseded by a feeling of overwhelming obligation to safeguard the nation in distress. After getting rid of the emperor, they felt no compunction about doing the same with others in power. They refused to be loyal to any government, since they considered it their supreme duty to be loyal to the German nation.

The ups and downs of the German army, from one defeat to the other, against their foreign enemies and against their foes at home, from the failure of the Kapp putschists in 1920 to the extinction of the Goerdeler putschists in 1944, are related with an abundance of detail and admirable organization of the source material. Even those who are familiar with the story will find much that is new and revealing. Of course not all the interpretations will be generally accepted. The flood of source material with which we have been swamped since Hitler's downfall necessitates careful evaluation, which probably will take many years. Therefore some of the author's statements may have to be revised later. But this limitation by no means diminishes the extraordinary value of the book. It is a condensed history of the Weimar and Hitler era, in the fabric of which the military thread was inextricably woven. It is, above all, the most elaborate and best-balanced history of the struggle of the officers against Hitler.

Wheeler-Bennett aptly distinguishes between "opposition" and "resistance." He gives a well-documented history of the opposition, neither exaggerating its extension nor denying its importance. He is the first to describe, in all its ramifications, the failure of the resistance and its ruthless suppression. A valuable contribution is his printing (pp. 698 ff.) of the farewell address to the Officer Corps which Hitler's successor, Doenitz, drafted but never issued. Found in his desk in Flensburg, it is kept by the British admiralty, which has made it accessible to the author. This unknown document gives an insight into the thinking of representative Germans. Doenitz there recommended that the German officers should "go along with the Western powers," because he saw in such a course the only hope "of later retrieving our land from the Russians." Though these words of

Doenitz written in 1945 never became known, the Doenitz line is being followed faithfully. The Grand Admiral went on with an exhortation to "keep a zealous watch over the greatest boon that has been given by National Socialism—our unity." He saw two alternatives: either "to create another form of National Socialism" or to "conform to the life imposed on us by the enemy."

In an epilogue, Wheeler-Bennett takes a stand on the question of German rearmament. Though he does not close his eyes before the unmistakable symptoms of neo-Nazism and of growing militarism, he considers it unavoidable, since he sees no other way out at a time when Western security faces, after Hitler's Germany, another totalitarian power.

Centre College

CARL E. MISCH

CENTRAL EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND ITS BACKGROUND: ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL GROUP ORGANIZATION. By *Rudolf Schlesinger*. [International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.] (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York; Grove Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 402. \$5.00.)

In his latest book, which might more appropriately be entitled "Central-European Marxism and trade unionism," Professor Schlesinger analyzes the causes of the spectacular rise of socialist parties and organized labor before 1919 and the even more spectacular downfall after 1919 which culminated in the breakup of the German and Austrian republics. He approaches these complex developments as a sociologist and a political scientist with an orthodox Marxist point of view. Although none of these approaches bars a writer from also being a historian, a combination of them imposes definite limitations upon the range, the objectivity, and the presentation of a historical account.

Professor Schlesinger recognizes these limitations from the first when he states that it is his intention to write neither a history of central Europe nor even of its labor movement. Rather he wishes to examine certain socio-political movements or sectional organizations as he calls them. With the claims thus staked out, the author begins to dig and digs very deeply indeed, although on a somewhat narrow front.

He unearths a considerable amount of interesting and at times novel points, especially in the first part of his book, in which he deals mainly with the formative period of both Marxian and Christian-Social labor groups. The author's discussion of the relationship between German trade unions and the Social-Democratic party constitutes a noteworthy section of the work. Equally good is the account of the evolution of the Austrian socialist party, for which Professor Schlesinger shows more sympathy and understanding than for its German counterpart. Less satisfactory, however, is the treatment of comparative developments of socialism and trade unionism in Czechoslovakia. This omission is all the more

regrettable since the author has addressed himself to the task of bringing Czechoslovakia within the purview of his study.

The second part of the work covers the "period of crisis," which the author places somewhat arbitrarily between 1905 and 1923. He assumes that since 1905 labor organizations increasingly entered into relationships with "monopoly capitalism" and that by 1923 the Social-Democratic parties in Germany and Austria had failed to make these republics "safe for democracy." Within these terminal points the author examines such important developments as the controversial war credits vote by the majority of German socialists, the resulting split of the party, and the establishment of the Weimar Republic. His analysis of this period is substantially correct and informative.

Less valid, however, is his examination of the factors which brought on the catastrophe of 1933. His arguments are based on the untenable premise that communism formed an integral part of central European democracy. The author's judgment is especially prejudiced against the German Social-Democrats, who were the *bête noire* of the German Communists. Accordingly he wrongly holds that the leadership of the former and of their Centrist allies was mainly responsible for the fall of the republic, realizing very little that the obstructionist policies of the Communists administered the *coup de grace*.

In summing up it may be said that the work offers considerable data about the internal operations of the various socialist parties. In fact, it is rather too detailed and a reader may put the book aside with the feeling that he cannot see the woods for the trees. Certain inaccuracies in spelling and dating, i.e., Stürck instead of Stürgkh or Windhorst instead of Windthorst, make the reader a bit dubious as to the accuracy of other information. On the whole, however, this book must be considered a pioneering attempt at comparative socio-political analysis and should be welcomed as such, particularly by students of the central European scene.

Rutgers University

F. GUNTHER EYCK

SERBIA BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: THE EVENTS OF 1903-1908. By Wayne S. Vucinich. [Stanford University Publications, University Series: History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume IX.] (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 304. \$4.75.)

AFTER the outbreak of the Second World War, interest in the origins of the First World War waned almost to the point of vanishing. Since that war was precipitated by the conflict between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, a fresh study of Serbian history is very welcome. If little has been written in English on this subject, it is probably because few scholars are familiar with the Serbo-Croatian language. Professor Vucinich of Stanford University has accordingly rendered an

unusual service by writing a book based primarily on materials in Serbian and Croatian (as well as Bulgarian) and doing so in such detail as to satisfy the most curious. In particular, he has been able to use Vladimir Ćorović's study of Austro-Serbian relations (*Odnosi između Srbije i Austro-Ugarske u XX veku*). In spite of considerable outside pressure, the Yugoslav government never published the Serbian diplomatic correspondence for the years before 1914. Instead Professor Ćorović was commissioned to write a book and given the run of the foreign office archives. But the book was no sooner published (1936) than it was suppressed. In 1951 a typewritten translation of a large part of the work was found in the Hoover Library at Stanford University, and ultimately a copy of the original was lent to Professor Vucinich by the Historical Institute in the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences. (There is a copy of Ćorović's book in the United States, but Mr. Vucinich was unaware of it.) According to the author, the book suffers from a strong nationalist bias, but contains numerous excerpts and materials that would otherwise be unavailable.

The title of the book is a little misleading, for the first chapter, "The Turn of the Century," starts off with the marriage of King Alexander in 1900, and in later chapters much Serbian history of the latter part of the nineteenth century is recorded. At the other end, the chapters on "Economic Emancipation" and "The Danube-Adriatic Railway" carry the narrative well beyond 1908, the year of the Bosnian annexation. Apart from this detail, the book is an excellent study done dispassionately and impartially.

It is clear that King Alexander had become impossible both to his Serbian subjects and to both Austria and Russia, who were competitors for his favor. Both rivals were aware of the plot of June 11, 1903, against the king and did nothing to save him; both immediately recognized his successor Peter Karadjordjević (as Mr. Vucinich spells it, instead of the conventional Karageorgevich). Only in England did the murder arouse indignation and force the government to break off diplomatic relations with Serbia. With Alexander out of the way, two things became possible. First, the establishment of constitutional government under King Peter, who was glad to let the Radical party rule. Second, the emancipation of the country from Austrian economic control—which the cabinet of Vienna had not believed possible. The chapter describing this feat is the most interesting in the book. While Pashich and the Radicals were pro-Russian, they made repeated efforts to come to reasonable terms with Austria; it was not their fault if Vienna continued to think in terms of bringing Serbia into a customs union with the Habsburg monarchy.

Let us hope that Mr. Vucinich will give us a second volume on the history of Serbia from the annexation of Bosnia to the crisis of 1914.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

DOKUMENTATION DER VERTREIBUNG DER DEUTSCHEN AUS OST-MITTELEUROPA. Volume I, Parts 1 and 2: DIE VERTREIBUNG DER DEUTSCHEN BEVÖLKERUNG AUS DEN GEBIETEN ÖSTLICH DER ODER-NEISSE. Edited by *Theodor Schieder*. (Bonn: Bundesministerium für Vertriebene. 1953. Pp. xxi, 160, 494; xv, 896.)

THESE two massive volumes are the first products of a large-scale historical enterprise, sponsored by the Federal Republic's Ministry for Refugees, to record the most recent phase in the eventful story of "East Central Europe"—the ejection of the German population from the region since 1944. A commission of scholars headed by Professor Theodor Schieder has been entrusted with planning the work. It will consist, when completed, of several volumes of "documentation" and a concluding volume summing up the entire study. Teams working on a regional basis have been assembling the documentary material, that for the territory east of the Oder-Neisse line—the area covered by the volumes which have now appeared—having been gathered by a group headed by Hans von Spaeth-Meyken. Subsequent documentary volumes will deal with the Sudetenland and with southeastern Europe. Final compilation of the documents, as well as preparation of the elaborate "introductory description" which is to accompany each documentary volume, is being done by a further group working under the direct supervision of Professor Schieder. The key volume in the series will be the concluding volume, where it is intended to enlarge the historical framework, to treat the problems involved analytically, and to appraise their significance in a variety of contexts. Until this grand design has been completely developed, judgment on the success of the collaborators in meeting the challenge of their difficult task will have to be suspended.

A primary difficulty of the task derives from the nature of the documentation. The types of sources which the historian generally likes to rely upon—official reports, accounts in a free press by first-hand observers, contemporary letters and diaries—are either nonexistent or as yet largely unavailable. On the other hand, since 1944 several million Germans have entered western Germany from east central Europe, and it was decided to devise some systematic way of drawing upon their memories. Large numbers of people were asked to write down exactly what had happened to them; it is a selection of these reports which forms the overwhelming bulk of the nearly four hundred items now published. It has been the express intention of those in charge not to put together a collection of atrocity stories and outrages, but in practice it has evidently been found difficult to avoid doing this.

Washington, D. C.

PAUL R. SWEET

RUSSIA AND THE WEST IN THE TEACHING OF THE SLAVOPHILES: A STUDY OF ROMANTIC IDEOLOGY. By *Nicholas V. Riasanovsky*, State University of Iowa. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LXI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1952. Pp. 244. \$6.00.)

RUSSIA: ABSENT AND PRESENT. By *Wladimir Weidlé*. Translated by *A. Gordon Smith*. (New York: John Day Company. 1952. Pp. vi, 153. \$3.00.)

I JOINED THE RUSSIANS: A CAPTURED GERMAN FLIER'S DIARY OF THE COMMUNIST TEMPTATION. By *Heinrich von Einsiedel*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1953. Pp. 306. \$4.00.)

COMMUNIST DOCTRINE AND THE FREE WORLD: THE IDEOLOGY OF COMMUNISM ACCORDING TO MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, AND STALIN. By *Marguerite J. Fisher*, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1952. Pp. viii, 284. \$4.50.)

THE remarkable fulfillment of Alexis de Tocqueville's prophecy of 120 years ago concerning the emerging global role of Russia vis-à-vis the West, lends particular interest to the first two books. For they are much concerned with the problem of Russia's relation to the West, which, though as old as Russian history, ideologically came strongly to the fore about the time when De Tocqueville made his famous prophecy. This problem had actually split the Russian intellectual elite in the 1840's into two opposing camps: the Westernizers and the anti-Western Slavophiles.

The debates touched off by the controversy between these two ideological currents, which involved some of Russia's outstanding men of letters and scholars, made a memorable episode in Russian intellectual history and gave rise to a rich literature dealing with the rival ideologies and their protagonists. However, Professor Riasanovsky's monograph is, to my knowledge, the first original scholarly work in the English language entirely devoted to the Slavophile movement, for an acquaintance with which the Anglo-American public long depended on such classical works on the history of Russian thought as President Masaryk's monumental and admirable *Spirit of Russia*. The monograph, therefore, necessarily merits special attention of the reviewer.

The reader will find a comprehensive treatment of the old, or classical, Slavophilism represented by Khomyakov, the brothers Kireeskiï, the two Aksakovs, and Samarin. The author does not deal, except incidentally, with the epigoni, like Danilevskii and Leontiev, who are, after all, treated adequately elsewhere. Brief biographical sketches of the leading Slavophiles and copious, well-translated quotations from their writings, good documentation, and a useful bibliography, are welcome features of the book.

The salient aspects of Slavophile philosophy stand out clearly among all its contradictions. These are: the hostility to the West, considered as "infected by the cancer of rationalism," and as implacably hostile to the Slavic world; the idealization of Slavdom in general, particularly of the Russian people and its past, and of such traditional institutions as the peasant commune and the Eastern Orthodox Church; the paradox of Western romanticism, actually molding the anti-Western Slavophilism. Rightly, the author stresses, as Masaryk did earlier, the central role

of the religious element in Slavophile nationalism and its essentially romantic character. The decline and doom of the West, and a correspondingly glorious future world mission for Russia, once it returns to the true path indicated by its past and avoids the "distortions" that began with the reign of Peter the Great and the St. Petersburg period of its history—such were the prophecies of the Slavophiles.

It is important to note that the anti-Westernism of the Slavophiles, as the author takes pains to show, was not due to their ignorance of the West, or to the existence of what we call today an "Iron Curtain." For they were well-educated, highly cultured people who were at home in several foreign languages and knew the West well through extensive travel and, in several cases, even through study in Western universities. Nor could the Slavophiles be identified with the chauvinists and obscurantists of the "Official Nationality" school of Tsar Nicholas I. Even though devoted to autocracy as a historic Russian institution, they curiously enough were distinctly opposed to statism and were liberal in their outlook on civil and religious freedom. This attitude actually made them suspect in the eyes of the tsarist government and brought them into difficulties with censorship.

Not the least of the merits of the book is the judicious appraisal of the influence of Slavophiles. Though a minority of Russian intelligentsia, they left a distinct imprint on diverse currents of Russian thought, on conservative and radical alike. The author shows a mastery of the prolific literature on the subject, both Russian and foreign, which he uses in his analysis discerningly and with skill.

Those who are interested in a scholarly treatment of the problem of the relation of Russia to the West could ill afford to miss the illuminating essay by Wladimir Weidlé. In it they will be rewarded also by an interesting bird's-eye view of Russian historic development. Not everyone, not even the reviewer, will agree with everything that the author has to say. But no reader can avoid being stimulated and enlightened.

Einsiedel's book is another contribution to the growing literature of disillusionment with communism by erstwhile converts. The victim in this case is a young scion of German aristocracy, a great grandson of Bismarck, who grew up with "a kind of split consciousness that was typical not only of my family but of large middle-class groups in Germany," who "despised the Nazis and yet served them because they represented the power of Germany." A flier in Hitler's army, Einsiedel was captured by the Russians during the battle of Stalingrad, was converted to Marxism, and became one of the pioneers and leading figures in the National Committee for Free Germany, organized by the Soviets during the war for propaganda purposes. After the war, he was active in the Soviet cause in eastern Germany, where he finally broke with communism. The book is written in a diary form, but, as the author frankly acknowledges, it is a helpful "literary device rather than an actual document." Well told and well translated, Einsiedel's account is absorbing reading for the psychological interest attached to the drama

of conversion and disillusionment. But it also undoubtedly will, as the author hopes, "give valuable hints to an objective historian," despite its necessarily subjective character.

Marguerite Fisher has performed a useful service to students of social science, as well as to the laymen concerned about communism, by making its apostles—Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—speak for themselves. She accomplishes this by judicious selection from their works on a variety of important topics. The author rightly warns against the underestimation of theory vis-à-vis communist opportunism. For, "Communist theory offers not only a guide to action but a bulwark of fate to sustain the revolutionist." In other words, theory as expounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin is an integral part of the communist mystique, which cannot be safely neglected by the free world.

The author's selection and topical arrangement of material is, on the whole, felicitous, except for the omission of the industrialization and agrarian problems. But the lack of an index is a serious shortcoming in a work of this character. The book was, no doubt, off the press before it could utilize Stalin's last testament, "The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.," in which the late dictator undertook a revision of some basic Marxist doctrines. The closing chapter of Miss Fisher's work presents a well-balanced and trenchant critique of communist theory. It must have been, however, a slip of the pen when she wrote, "In Lenin's Russia of the twentieth century there were not even the institutions of representative government." What about the Duma (Russian parliament, in existence from 1906 to 1917), in which, despite a very restricted suffrage and power, even the Bolsheviks were represented? And what about the zemstvo, the local self-governing bodies created in 1864?

Washington, D. C.

LAZAR VOLIN

A HISTORY OF RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHY. In two volumes. By V. V. Zenkovsky. Authorized Translation from the Russian by George L. Kline. [Columbia Slavic Studies.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 465; viii, 469-947. \$15.00.)

THE publication of the English translation of V. V. Zenkovsky's *History of Russian Philosophy* is a notable event, if only because this is the most comprehensive survey of Russian intellectual history that has yet appeared in any Western language. Father Zenkovsky's two-volume work fully testifies to the painstaking scholarship of its author and to his encyclopedic knowledge of his subject, and the sections of it that are devoted to the theologians of the eighteenth century and to the Idealist philosophers of the twentieth constitute original and important contributions. Yet Zenkovsky's study may raise rather serious queries in the minds of Western readers, for its scope as well as its general treatment appear peculiarly out of focus.

For a history of Russian philosophy, Zenkovsky's work ranges very wide afield. Within its purview it includes eighteenth-century mystics and theologians such as Skovoroda and nineteenth-century revolutionary theorists and propagandists such as Herzen, novelists such as Gogol and Dostoevsky, as well as scientists such as Kavelin and Chelpanov. Indeed very few of the major, and even of the minor, figures in Russia's intellectual history have been left untouched. While most of the figures discussed were not professional philosophers, they did in most cases entertain philosophical interests and uphold certain philosophical positions—almost no self-respecting member of the Russian nineteenth-century intelligentsia would have felt properly equipped without the armor of a "world view," without a set of interpretations of every facet of the world about him. It would seem all the more harmless, therefore, that Zenkovsky should have ranged so far beyond his self-defined task, if it were not for the fact that the legitimacy of his treatment hinges on the assumption that the life interests and preoccupations of his subjects were, in the most idealized sense, those of professional philosophers. From his approach one might derive the impression that the figures he discusses existed, detached from the world about them, in a rarefied universe populated almost exclusively by the great representatives of the European philosophical tradition, and that, withdrawn in this world of Platonic Ideas, *sub specie aeternitatis*, they lived engrossed in the construction of adequate and consistent philosophical systems.

Even when Zenkovsky is considering as undisciplined a revolutionary temperament as Michael Bakunin's, or as many-sided and fluid a personality as Alexander Herzen, his chief, if not sole, concern is to delineate in his subjects' responses to men and events the kernel of embryonic or full-grown philosophical systems—and to place these systems within the context of an all too vaguely defined philosophical tradition. Such an approach does not seem incongruous when one is dealing with a professional philosopher of the character and stature of Vladimir Soloviev. But the figures of the revolutionary intelligentsia whom Zenkovsky has included in the purview of his analysis cannot profitably be viewed in so rarefied a light. For these men were deeply involved in the travails through which their society was passing. They had plunged into the world of abstract ideas, not so much to find or to erect foolproof philosophical systems as to express, and rationalize, certain deeply felt if wavering attitudes toward their contemporary environment.

Zenkovsky advances the general notion that even those of the figures in Russia's intellectual history who were most alienated from Greek Orthodoxy were engrossed in a fundamentally religious search for a definition of the moral purpose of the individual and of the social community. But this thesis is so literally and so indiscriminately invoked, and it is so rarely supported by any searching psychological analyses, that it represents little more than an obiter dictum.

As a result, Zenkovsky's philosophical tableau frequently assumes a shadowy character. While following his careful reconstruction of the views of his subjects, we fail to gain a sense of the forces that animated them: we remain oblivious to

the psychological complexity and intellectual obliqueness of a figure like Chaadaev; we are denied a view of the political and social convulsions to which a Herzen responded with such acerbic sensibility; we get little inkling of the political and social background of Plekhanov's ideological development.

While these are serious weaknesses, Mr. Zenkovsky's is nevertheless a work of considerable merit. When the author is dealing with figures whose views are closely akin to his own, such as the Slavophiles and the twentieth-century Idealists, he largely transcends the limitations of his approach and succeeds in bringing his subjects' views to life. And even when he is discussing writers whose outlook is profoundly repugnant to him, he manages to maintain an even and balanced tone.

Mr. George L. Kline's translation of the work, just as the editing job by the Columbia University Press, is careful and exacting. It is to be regretted, however, that the editors should have decided to omit Zenkovsky's bibliographical references to critical studies published in Russian, and that they should not have inserted more frequent explanatory notes for the concepts and philosophical terms employed by the author.

Harvard University

LEOPOLD H. HAIMSON

THE RUSSIAN CHURCH AND THE SOVIET STATE, 1917-1950. By *John Shelton Curtiss*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1953. Pp. x, 387. \$6.00.)

THERE are several reasons for so few works in the field of Russian church history. Partly it is due to scarcity of sources, partly to the serious linguistic difficulty to be overcome. Also, many of the available sources are rarely found outside of Russia. Interviews with ecclesiastical leaders are virtually impossible or fruitless for obvious reasons.

In the past the subject has been dealt with by two kinds of writers: one was the "converted" sentimentalist who would enthusiastically interpret the subject with generous propensity; the other was the politely inimical type who with benevolent arrogance didactically endeavored to prove the past wrongs of the schismatic church. I am most happy to state that Dr. Curtiss successfully avoids the sentiments of both: he writes with rare detachment and mastery of the subject despite the difficulties he is bound to encounter.

The author has carefully gathered an impressive bibliography which includes all Russian sources one can expect to find abroad under present circumstances. The value of the sources, however, would have been much more enhanced had the author presented a critical bibliography instead of a mere listing of items. At times the author betrays a touch of glibness in his presentation of church-state relationship. A single illustration perhaps will suffice. Among the signs of improved conditions for the church in Russia Dr. Curtiss cites the following: "In 1946 some five million Uniats renounced the papacy and asked to be received under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow—a request that was speedily granted."

That it was "speedily granted" can hardly be doubted; that five million Uniats by an overnight decision broke off a 350-year tie with the papacy can be gravely questioned. Failure to indicate the political pressure employed in this matter or to scrutinize the presumable "unanimity" in favor of Moscow opens the author to accusations of oversimplifying a complex issue.

Though Dr. Curtiss wisely cautions that the painful resurgence of the church should not be overestimated, I would dare to caution him further. Behind the façade of reported "crowded churches" and "keener interest in religion" in the Soviet Union there is the lurking fact that education remains an absolute monopoly of the state; that crowds in churches and an interest in religion are limited to the older generation. This should not merely be mentioned, but most emphatically repeated.

These are a few minor points I wish to bring out; they have no serious bearing upon the fact that the work constitutes a major contribution to historical literature. I heartily recommend this book to anyone who is or must be concerned with one of the great struggles of the century—between the Orthodox faith and the Soviet state.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

Far Eastern History

STUDIES IN CHINESE THOUGHT. Edited by *Arthur F. Wright*. [Comparative Studies in Cultures and Civilizations.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 317. \$4.00.)

It happens that at just about the time this volume was received this reviewer began work as a member of the newly established Committee for the Review of Oriental Studies, of the American Council of Learned Societies, a committee concerned with an evaluation of the progress made in Oriental studies in the United States during the past twenty-five years. *Studies in Chinese Thought* should provide encouragement for the new A.C.L.S. committee. With the possible exception of Professor Derk Bodde, who was beginning his graduate studies just about twenty-five years ago, none of the American contributors to this volume had at that time undertaken the study of Chinese. With its discerning studies based upon mature use of original sources, the volume represents a very considerable achievement for American scholarship. It is worth noticing, also, that each of the contributions published here is a by-product of extensive previous study in the subject discussed.

The published result of a symposium held at Aspen, Colorado, in September, 1952, the book is the first of a series of comparative studies of the world's major civilizations and cultures, to be produced under the general editorship of Professors Robert Redfield and Milton Singer of the University of Chicago. The editor

of the present volume, Professor Arthur Wright of Stanford University, has also contributed a substantial introduction and a very interesting article on the problems of expressing foreign ideas in Chinese. Some of the best of the other contributions must be mentioned separately. Professor Derk Bodde, the translator of Fung Yu-lan's standard *History of Chinese Philosophy*, traces the concepts of permanence and change, harmony and conflict, throughout the course of Chinese thought. Professor Theodore de Bary of Columbia contributes a reappraisal of Sung Neo-Confucianism and of the work done by some of its important figures. Professor David Nivison of Stanford deals with the concepts of "knowledge" and "action" in Chinese thought since the sixteenth century; and Professor J. R. Levenson of the University of California (Berkeley) uses the concepts of "history" and "value" (i.e., universal validity) in analyzing the struggle between Chinese traditional ideals and Western influence in the past 150 years. Dr. Schuyler Cammann contributes a masterly summary of symbolism in Chinese art, in which he establishes the case that symbols other than language can be very useful in the study of thought. This contribution, which deals, among other matters, with cosmic, imperial, Buddhist and Taoist, and festival symbols and linguistic puns, arouses in the reader an eager interest in the larger monograph which Dr. Cammann is preparing on this subject.

This reviewer is not certain that the article by Professor Arnold Isenberg on the process of interpretation and that by Professor I. A. Richards on a theory of translating should have been included. Both deal with general problems of communication rather than with any problem of communication or interpretation specifically relevant to Chinese thought. There is no doubt that translation from Chinese, as from every other language, requires that one constantly make choices among various possible meanings; and there is no doubt that increased awareness of this process is desirable. But readers of this volume might be expected to be specifically interested in learning just how this operates in the translation of Chinese.

Library of Congress

EDWIN G. BEAL

STILWELL'S MISSION TO CHINA. By *Charles F. Romanus* and *Riley Sunderland*. [United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater.] (Washington: Department of the Army. 1953. Pp. xix, 441. \$5.00.)

CHINA and what happened there, during the years 1941-45 while China and the United States were fighting as allies in the war against Japan, has apparently been very much on the conscience of American political leadership. First there appeared the Department of State's *United States Relations with China, with Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949* (1949) and now we have the Department of the Army's *Stilwell's Mission to China*. The State Department's volume is a bill of particulars of the political shortcomings of the Chinese government.

The volume under review which deals only with the period 1941-43, is a well-documented bill of particulars of the military shortcomings of the Chinese government. It is also the melancholy "saga"—to use Mr. Stimson's word—of a gallant soldier struggling manfully, but in vain, to carry through what proved to be an impossible mission.

From the beginning there was confusion as to just what the mission to China was to be. General Stilwell's understanding seems to have been that he was to have an effective fighting command of American and Chinese troops, and that he was to help the Chinese train and equip an effective army to hold Burma, protect China's communications with the outside world, and, eventually, to help drive the Japanese from the mainland. All of this was to lead eventually to a bitter disagreement over the idea that the Japanese could be defeated in China by air power alone. President Roosevelt decided this controversy in favor of the air plan.

The Army's historians tell the story of Stilwell's mission to China in terms of his military plans and activities. The account ends, not with his recall in 1944 but in October, 1943, when Stilwell finally turned from his mission "to prepare the Chinese army for the ordeals ahead of it" to the new task in India, which he had laid out for himself, of "seeing to it that the Chinese army in India played its part in the retaking of Burma." It is the history of a soldier who "had little interest in political and social problems, foreign or domestic," to whom was given an impossible task in an area where he was beset at every turn by political problems and by a most complicated social revolution dominated by nationalism.

This volume is written well and holds the reader's interest. But, to this reviewer, it seems that General Stilwell's mission to China cannot really be understood without some reference to the highly charged political situation in which it was performed. If, as President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Stimson said over and over, Stilwell's mission was to keep China in the war, its purpose was primarily political and only secondarily military. The military aspects of General Stilwell's mission were, in fact, at all times subordinated to the claims of the European theater.

In the authors' summary at the end of the book I find one statement I have difficulty in accepting: where they speak of the United States Army's interest in China as beginning with the Army's participation in the relief of Peking at the time of the Boxer Uprising in 1900, they say: "After these events, a small U.S. garrison was kept in China to support Chinese nationalism against other powers. . . ." If that was ever the mission of the small bodies of Marines and Army troops stationed at the American legation at Peking and at points along the railway that connected Peking with the sea, in accordance with the terms of the Boxer Protocol of 1901, it was not so understood by the Department of State or by the legation. The authors cite no authority for their statement.

Washington, D. C.

NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON

American History

THE NEW ENGLAND MIND: FROM COLONY TO PROVINCE. By Perry Miller. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 513. \$6.50.)

THIS book treats the intellectual and literary history of New England, with attention focused almost steadily upon the Massachusetts Bay Colony, from about 1660 until about 1730. Actually, the author begins with the passing of the founders of the Bay Colony and carries the account to the generation of Jonathan Edwards, to the Enlightenment, or to the Great Awakening—the reader may be in doubt as to which, and may even be led to wonder whether all three were aspects of the same phenomena. In another sense, the volume is a jeremiad (*sans* dolefulness) leveled at the Mathers, especially Increase and Cotton, whose careers roughly coincided with the period under survey.

In many respects this book excels its predecessor, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (1939), to which it is a sequel—although the clarity and readability of its literary presentation still falls short of the author's first book, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (1933). Mr. Miller distinguishes more clearly between New English and Old English Puritanism; he is aware of economic influences; and he sees the factions in Zion, the machinations of which led to the production of a very large proportion of the literary works of the period under survey. I do not recall that Mr. Miller says it, but the literature of New England is singularly polemical—or at least Mr. Miller makes it appear to be. Nearly every published sermon, book, poem, and newssheet becomes a broadside aimed either at the Mathers' arrogant, vainglorious pursuit of power and prestige or in support thereof. The interpretation appears to result from Mr. Miller's attempt to present his materials "inside *The Seventeenth Century*" (p. ix), that is, within the patterns of mind already set forth in the earlier book. One may query whether the founding fathers had been so unanimous in their opinions and their aims—and especially in their methods. But whether the author's method can be wholly supported or not, it is useful and thought-provoking.

Mr. Miller finds that the New England way, initially intended as a Protestant pilot group which all the Christian world eventually would imitate, became "an isolated remnant" (p. 9) after the English Independents had embraced a policy of limited religious toleration. Accordingly, from having been a "radical" experiment, New England became "a stronghold of reaction." Economic weaknesses and the decay of religious enthusiasm (or at least of the quality of religious performance) heightened the sense of insecurity while repeated fast-days fixed upon the second-generation colonists a literary type common during the remainder of the period, the jeremiad (p. 29). Wearisomely repeated, the jeremiads viewed with alarm the sins of the people lest they bring slow ruin or swift destruction upon the covenanted nation. The Glorious Revolution effected vast changes upon the

New England mentality whereby New England became a secular state, accepted toleration as a badge of loyalty to King William (a pose that was frequently forgotten), and translated "Christian liberty into those liberties guaranteed by statute" (p. 171). Religion thereafter tended to align with property, and new party alignments arose, not out of doctrinal differences but out of social conflict. Meanwhile, man's innate powers were granted an enlargement beyond the earlier Calvinist limitations; Descartes replaced Ramus in Harvard's philosophy teaching; the reason of the Enlightenment slowly replaced the logic of Aristotle, and New England slipped almost unconsciously into eighteenth-century habits of mind.

Many readers will find much new material in this book, some of which may provoke vigorous dissent. Mr. Miller is penetrating; he is sometimes pungent; he is firm—and occasionally free—in his opinions. His book treats an oft-neglected era with freshness and authority.

University of Illinois

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd*. Volume III, 18 JUNE 1779 TO 30 SEPTEMBER 1780. Volume IV, 1 OCTOBER 1780 TO 24 FEBRUARY 1781. Volume V, 25 FEBRUARY 1781 TO 20 MAY 1781. *Lyman Butterfield* and *Mina R. Bryan*, Associate Editors. Volume VI, 21 MAY 1781 TO 1 MARCH 1784. *Mina R. Bryan* and *Elizabeth L. Hutter*, Associate Editors. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951-52. Pp. xxxiii, 672; xxxviii, 702; xxxv, 705; xxxvi, 668. \$10.00 ea.)

THOMAS Jefferson was elected governor of Virginia June 1, 1779; his last "official" letters at the end of his second term bore date of June 3, 1781. His correspondence for a few days after his accession to office—June 1-18, 1779—is to be found in Volume II of *The Papers*, previously published (see *AHR*, LVI [April, 1951], 585). Now, beginning with June 18, 1779, Volumes III, IV, and V, in their entirety, and a minor portion of Volume VI are required to bring to completion the text of the documents of Jefferson's two years as governor, with the accompanying annotation. The dominating bulk of the papers of 1779-1781 affords the controlling reason for considering, in one and the same review, these four volumes.

These years when Jefferson was governor were not only years of war but also years in which Virginia was first threatened and then confronted with invasion. Before this time, Jefferson, though often in public service, had found opportunity for personal correspondence that ranged over varied fields. In contrast, the documents of 1779-1781 in these volumes are almost exclusively of an official nature; indeed, to a large degree, those of administrative routine. Collectively, they illuminate the baffling complexity of the problems which Jefferson had to face, and eliminate all doubt as to the vigor with which, amidst a people war-weary and in part apathetic, he strove to meet them. It is unnecessary here to attempt an analy-

sis of these problems; that task has been performed by Jefferson's latest biographers.

For the last five months of Jefferson's second term the documents in the Virginia State Archives are abundant, but for earlier years many records are missing—letterbooks of the governors, Council journals, and the like. Certainly Arnold's raid on Richmond was in part responsible for these losses. Jefferson himself, always historically minded, tried, but without success, to repair the damage. The editors, adding to the surviving archival material and, of course, to that found in Jefferson's papers, the results of their search in many other collections, public and private, have been vastly more successful.

In the remaining and larger portion of Volume VI are contained the documents that belong to the period between the end of Jefferson's terms as governor and March, 1784. Again there is revealed a contrast in the quantity and the character of the papers. A longer time—nearly three years—requires less than 600 pages. Many of the documents are "official." Some bear on his relations with the Virginia House of Delegates; others originated in the Continental Congress, first in their offers to send Jefferson abroad, and secondly in the matters referred to committees for which he reported. These state papers, so unlike the routine administrative communications of the governorship, afforded full play to Jefferson's creative, constructive mind. Also the flow of personal correspondence rapidly increased. Many of these letters, indeed, deal with politics; particularly those exchanged with James Madison; it was to Madison that Jefferson in June, 1783, submitted his draft for a new constitution for Virginia. In the correspondence with Madison, too, appears the first resort, between these friends, to writing in code, the deciphering of which again demonstrates the expertness of Dr. Boyd and his associates. Now there was leisure, too, for other than political subjects. Of greatest importance in their literary result were the letters written in reply to questions of Marbois, which laid the foundations for the *Notes on Virginia*. Then, last but by no means least, must be mentioned the beginning of correspondence with and about his daughters.

In the enlightening foreword to Volume VI, the editors add to the statement of methods presented in Volume I. The most distinguished editorial contribution is, of course, the copious and scholarly annotation. It is fitting to recall the fact that for each paper there is provided, usually by symbols but sometimes more elaborately, information as to its present location, if known, and a description of the type or kind of document which it represents. Usually one finds also some explanatory matter. Keyed to a group of related papers or texts are longer "editorial" notes, of which many examples were found in the first two volumes, and now many in Volume VI. Strangely, in the great body of the papers of the governorship such full editorial notes appear but twice. More surprising, in view of the fact that the editors have not provided an index for each volume, is the absence of any general introduction to the papers of 1779–1781, whereby the reader

could have been afforded information which now he must seek—or hit upon—in the multitudinous notes to the individual documents. The separate trees *seriatim* are well described: but the editors might have said more about the wood.

Among the problems which the editors have had to face is that of deciding what documents to print, either in full or, to save space, in condensed form. One of the bases for a choice, that of “importance,” is a term that may be widely interpreted. To meet the need for abbreviation there is used the “summary” which bears a strong family resemblance to the old “calendar entry.” Quite properly the summary is often called into service in the case of letters received, and especially those of the years when Jefferson was governor. Every summary is given the conventional form of caption. The “record entry”—which also has a caption—is a device applied to “missing” letters. Excepted, however, are letters the existence of which is revealed through mention in a letter of reply. Such letters, now missing, are accounted for only in footnotes.

A highly interesting *tour de force*, explained in the foreword to Volume VI, is the decision of the editors to appropriate to their own use, item by item, in chronological sequence, a list of letters received and written—a list which Jefferson after previous experimentation began in November, 1783. Adopting the description “Short Journal of Letters” which Jefferson applied to this list, the editors represent it by the symbol “SJL.” Very often the SJL offers the sole record of letters written by or to Jefferson which now are lost. Consequently the number of record entries is vastly increased. As to the operation performed on the SJL itself, whereby not this list but its *dissecta membra* will be printed, it may be asked why a similar treatment was not applied to the little “account books” diligently kept by Jefferson, to which the editors, as well as Jefferson’s biographers, have so frequently resorted for information.

Enough of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* has now been published to afford a sufficient basis for constructing a preview, so to speak, of the whole work. One may safely say that the editors have lived up to their promises and made a success of their endeavor; yet they have left many points open to healthy discussion. This great series is henceforth to be regarded not only as an accomplishment in itself but also as a standard of which any who undertake similar editorial enterprises will have to take account.

Chevy Chase, Maryland

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

LETTERS OF NOAH WEBSTER. Edited with an Introduction by *Harry R. Warfel*. (New York: Library Publishers. 1953. Pp. xlvii, 562. \$7.50.)

“PERHAPS this is the only country on the globe,” Noah Webster grimly remarked in 1807, “where men are determined not to have their errors disturbed.” Throughout a long and exceedingly busy life it was Webster’s determination to

separate his countrymen from the "errors" they clung to. Filled with a deep sense of his own rectitude and a passion for printer's ink, he was born to set the world to rights on all subjects.

The present collection of 188 letters that Webster wrote between 1782 and 1843 illustrates his reforming zeal better than it does his personal life, for a large proportion of these letters are really tracts—newspaper essays or separately printed pamphlets—on subjects as diverse as charitable societies, the promotion of manufactures, the law of copyright, and epidemiology. There are, to be sure, many letters to his family and friends, but they make relatively little impression compared with the public letters, for Webster seems almost never to have unbent when he had a pen in his hand. He had no humor or chattiness in him. Even his love letters are stilted exercises in rhetoric. On the other hand, his gifts as a controversialist were magnificent. In denouncing the Democratic clubs, the Embargo, and every other idea or act of the Jeffersonians, he was in his glory. Though he later regretted it, Webster published a reply to Hamilton's pamphlet against John Adams in 1800 that was, and remains, a brilliant defense of the policies of that misunderstood statesman. This is an example of the unexpected good things that will be found in Professor Warfel's collection, drawn from both printed and unprinted sources. But of course Webster's most durable contributions were to philology and allied fields. The letters assembled here, many of them statements and defenses of his principles as a lexicographer, document a great scholarly career. "A national language is a national tie," Webster declared as early as 1786, "and what country wants it more than America?" He had already set about to create that tie, and he succeeded in the face of appalling difficulties. His long printed letter of 1816 to the philologist John Pickering, who had denounced Webster as "a thirsty reformer and presumptuous sciolist," is a splendid summary and vindication of his aims and accomplishments, a document of first importance to the student of American cultural history.

The idea of collecting Noah Webster's letters was a good one, and Professor Warfel's volume will prove useful for many purposes. It would be still more useful if the annotation were not so thin. Names of persons are identified in a list at the back of the book, but the few notes on historical and bibliographical matters are inadequate. Enclosures are not identified. The letters often raise questions that must have been answered in replies, but the editor almost never indicates whether replies exist or what they said. Reading a collection like this is a little like overhearing one side of a telephone conversation in which one has not only an interest but a stake.

Institute of Early American History and Culture

L. H. BUTTERFIELD

GEORGE LOGAN OF PHILADELPHIA. By *Frederick B. Tolles*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xix, 362. \$5.00.)

A MORE logical sequel to Mr. Tolles's earlier studies of Philadelphia Quakerism than a biography of George Logan would be difficult to find. A more uncooperative subject is seldom encountered. Intended for a career in the world of business, the young George Logan left the countinghouse as soon as his apprenticeship was over. Educated in medicine at Edinburgh, he deserted his profession for the life of a gentleman farmer at Stenton, the Logan country estate. In 1785, having previously displayed little interest in politics, he was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature and later went to the United States Senate. A Quaker and a lover of peace, he became the stormy petrel of the Jeffersonian party. Logan's busy, wayward life makes an interesting story, which Mr. Tolles presents in extremely readable fashion.

Twice, during gaps in his public career, Logan took it upon himself, when war seemed imminent, to go abroad as an unofficial and unauthorized ambassador of good will. Mr. Tolles's account of the furor raised by Logan's mission to Paris, in 1798, has, unfortunately, a certain timeliness. The Federalist press pictured Logan as a dangerous "incendiary" conspiring to sacrifice his country "to the insidious designs of an unprincipled foreign foe"; and a congressional committee of inquiry promptly introduced a bill to prohibit private diplomacy. The bitter debate, the specious argument, and the wild charges that were flung about in Congress while the "Logan Act" was being passed, vividly illustrate how fanatical partisanship and the hysteria of the day warped the judgment of thinking men. Logan's second peace mission, to England in 1810, was a deliberate violation of the act, but this time the "war hawks" were of his own party. Although a few half-hearted denunciations were leveled at him, he ran little danger of being the first victim of the law which, by one of the perversities of history, became his best-known memorial.

Mr. Tolles has attempted to present George Logan as he was, to see things as Logan saw them, and to remove himself, the biographer, completely from the book. Recognizing, however, that it is the historian's responsibility, "to formulate critical judgments about his subject," Mr. Tolles provides a measured appraisal of Logan's faults and virtues in a fine introductory essay. The portrait that emerges from the story is in general what Mr. Tolles sketches in his introduction: a man doctrinaire in his thinking, inconsistent and sometimes illogical in action; a conservative country aristocrat, devoted to the agrarian ideal; a conciliator and a peacemaker; a man, finally, of "simple goodness." The reader has only to turn back to the introduction whenever he feels that Mr. Tolles's enthusiasm for his subject is getting a bit out of hand. Nevertheless, the inherent difficulty of Mr. Tolles's approach is illustrated in his efforts to trace Logan's "political awakening." The author's opinion given in the book that Logan "set himself unequivocally against the aristocratic principle," that he "identified himself irrevocably with the common people," is not entirely convincing, and conflicts in some measure with his judgment expressed in the introduction. With this

exception, Mr. Tolles has succeeded in doing what he set out to do, namely, "to convey, as far as may be, some sense of how it felt to be George Logan." If there is no recipe for immortality, the next best thing is a biography as good as this.

Alexandria, Virginia

BYRON FAIRCHILD

JEDEDIAH SMITH AND THE OPENING OF THE WEST. By *Dale L. Morgan*. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1953. Pp. 458. \$4.50.)

DALE Morgan, a westerner, a Mormon, and the author of two excellent works, *The Humboldt* and *The Great Salt Lake*, has given us now a scholarly and well-written volume on Jedediah Smith, which may well serve as a base for a complete history of the fur trade of the West. Few have attempted and none has achieved such a task.

Tracing every known source and clue, Morgan has here presented us with a part of that history, in the period of the 1820's. Taking as his central figure the legendary, Bible-reading leader of the "reckless breed of mountain men," Jed Smith, who never shared his bed with a squaw, never swore, never smoked, and rarely took a drink, and who was the only man to whom Harrison Rogers issued soap on his trip across the desert wastes, Morgan has etched the characters of all the important figures of the era onto his pages, and in so doing has graphically portrayed many of the stories, battles, adventures and exploits of the early, untamed west. Many of these have been told before, but Morgan has done an admirable job of separating fact from myth.

Jedediah Smith, during the nine of the thirty-two years of his short life spent in the West, was the first man to cross overland from the American frontier to California, the first man to cross the length of Utah and the width of Nevada, the first to cross the Sierra Nevadas, and the first to travel by land through California and Oregon. He made the "effective" discovery of South Pass, although he was not the first to see it or to pass through it. Smith and his men set the pattern for the western fur trade and made the "unknown wilderness" known to all who would submit to its rigorous hardships in quest of furs. Morgan has given us a much needed, detailed account of the changes wrought in the fur trapping and trading operations. He is obviously quite familiar with the abundant material, both printed and manuscript, detailing these exploits. He leans heavily upon Dale and Sullivan, has indicated and used all their sources, and has added to these a small amount of new material, including Ashley's and McLeod's diaries (although the latter was partially published by Sullivan). In addition, Morgan takes up the international aspects of, and impacts on, the British and American fur trade in the West.

Perhaps the most serious fault with which Morgan can be charged is "over-geographing." His love for the mountains and valleys and rivers of his native West has led to detailed descriptions of the travels of, and terrain covered by

Smith, but he has provided no detailed or section maps with which the reader may follow his narrative. Morgan's only map is a general cartograph of all Smith's travels and explorations, printed on the inside cover. On the other hand, he has included two appendixes containing documentary material, most interesting of which are the Smith family papers, chiefly from the manuscripts of the Kansas Historical Society. He has also included an excellent index and a number of illustrations. There is no formal bibliography, but the extensive notes provide a guide to the literature, both printed and manuscript, in which the author indicates gaps in the documentary evidence and entices scholars to pursue the search for the missing documentation.

Despite the fact that Morgan has cut short his story with Smith's retirement from Morgan's home country to St. Louis, he has given us what is by far the best biography of "Old Jed" Smith extant. Whereas heretofore all students interested in the western fur trade have had to start with Chittenden and Dale, Morgan has now, with *Jedediah Smith*, added his name to those who must be considered indispensable authorities in any serious study of the American fur trade in the West.

San Diego State College

A. P. NASATIR

ARTISTS AND ILLUSTRATORS OF THE OLD WEST, 1850-1900. By Robert Taft. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1953. Pp. xvii, 400. \$8.50.)

THE chances are good that no one who has not dealt seriously with paintings and drawings as sources will have realized how vital such materials can be to an understanding of the West in the nineteenth century. Professor Taft's method, in this scholarly study, is to present his artists and illustrators as full-fledged, yet always discerning, participants in many phases of western life. After a summary of the artist's earlier career, he recounts the events behind the particular western enterprise that took the illustrator into the field, follows him through the country with veteran agility as the sketches are made, noting the place and circumstance of each, and finally accounts for the finished pictures both in respect to their importance in their own day as aids to the sale of magazines and books and as advertisers of the West, and afterward as authentic records of the times. It is with this last point that Taft is most concerned. The argumentative question of the artistic merit of the drawings becomes, therefore, as seems entirely proper here, only a secondary matter.

How reliable were the men and women whose professional careers are under review in this book? Taft shows conclusively that as a rule they were honest and careful, and even meticulous, in their work. Most of them had had, moreover, the benefit of formal training in the profession. Of Alfred E. Mathew's *Pencil Sketches of Colorado* (1866) Taft writes, "Dress, transportation (in one of the lithographs, there can be counted seven or eight types of wheeled vehicles), the

miscellany of everyday street life, and the methods, equipment and detail of Colorado mining, are all faithfully recorded, or as faithfully as Mathews could for he made a fetish of validity in his pictures." Here one of the artists, peering through a telescope from a rise on the plains, captures the panorama of an immense buffalo herd in the days before the railroad; here is sketched the thin curving line of longhorns moving up the Wichita trail; here is a picture of a primitive dugout town in one of the emptier parts of Kansas. This book opens up to students of western history a body of generally neglected, original material of high value indeed.

The notes at the back of the narrative are very nearly a match for those of Read and Gaines's *Gold Rush*. Beyond the citations are found the results of the author's seemingly tireless researches on scores of matters pertinent to the book, ranging from diggings in the "molehills in the paths of history" to such useful items as a catalogue of the work of the railroad survey artists, catalogues of dozens of other artists who painted western life, biographies and bibliographies for many almost unknown but noteworthy figures in western history, a bibliography of contemporary accounts of cattle ranching in the 1880's, a bibliography of reviews and surveys of the paintings and drawings of the western states. Ninety examples of the work of the artists discussed in the text are appended, and, doubtless somewhat more important to specialists, the book tells where hundreds more are to be found. All these elements Taft has worked together critically and in good harmony with his central theme. The result is a book that belongs with the best of the recent writings on the American West.

University of California, Berkeley

W. N. DAVIS, JR.

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE 1860. In five volumes. Volume IV, PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL EFFORTS. Volume V, EDUCATIONAL THEORIES AND PRACTICES. Edited by *Edgar W. Knight*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. vii, 516; vii, 533. \$12.50 ea.)

PROFESSOR Knight's completion of the editing of these volumes, a few months before his death in 1953, rounded out his distinguished career as the leading authority on the history of education in the South. The first volume in this series dealt with the European inheritances; the second with early efforts toward educational independence from Europe; and the third with the rise of the state university.

The documents in the fourth volume throw light on the South's heavy reliance upon private and denominational academies and colleges, whose free enterprise led to ruthless competition and a shocking institutional mortality rate. Interesting sections deal with the manual labor schools which sprang up widely in the 1820's and 30's, and with the military schools which resulted partly from

the fear of slave insurrections and partly from the fondness of many southerners for things military.

The materials on educational theories and practices illustrate the many constitutional and legislative provisions for public education, most of which unfortunately remained on paper. Fear of centralized authority in education was even stronger in the South than in the rest of the country, and fear of northern influences steadily mounted. Yet many southern educators sought advice from Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, and Tennessee provided for a state superintendent of schools as early as 1835.

Throughout the series, the choice of documents reflects the editor's broad knowledge of the field, and his incisive comments do much to weave the materials together and to add to their meaning. In the last two volumes, these contributions of the editor are a little less outstanding than in the earlier parts of the series. For example, the number of college charters included in the fourth volume seems unnecessarily large, and the texts are tiresome in their similarity.

It is somewhat ungracious, as well as speculative, for a reviewer to discuss the work a great scholar might have done, rather than the work he did. But the heavy cost of publishing large collections of documents in expensive format always raises the question of whether the funds and the effort might not have been better devoted to the writing and publication of books. Collections of documents are more useful to historical specialists than to general readers and students. In this case, a large proportion of the documents have been published before, and many of the most interesting of them are reprinted from works that are fairly generally available. It should be noted, however, that the absence of adequate library facilities in many parts of the South is a factor which helps to justify the collection and republication of documents in this instance. It must be remembered, also, that Professor Knight's output of books and articles was prodigious, during the four decades since the publication (1913) of his pioneering work on *The Influence of Reconstruction on Education in the South*.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTON BEAN

THE NEBRASKA QUESTION, 1852-1854. By *James C. Malin*, Professor of History, University of Kansas. (Lawrence, Kansas: the Author. 1953. Pp. ix, 455. \$4.00.)

THE intricate process which produced the Kansas-Nebraska Act never ceases to be a matter of historical speculation, and it is appropriate that in the centennial year of its existence the scholar who has studied it most intensively should make a significant contribution.

Mr. Malin speaks not only from his own long study but also from conclusions

presented by his teacher, the late Frank H. Hodder. Both of them are in agreement that the problem of constructing railroads to the Pacific was the crux of the matter and that Douglas was chiefly motivated by statesmanlike vision in promoting the great cause of western development. This judgment, it may be assumed, can now be generally accepted, although the senator's constant political ambitions must not be overlooked.

Malin's special interest is to demonstrate a further thesis. The great technological revolution of the nineteenth century had doomed slavery, and the question of its expansion was not a real issue because the institution could not expand. Douglas and the leaders of action in northwest Missouri sensed this if they did not actually formulate their understanding. At any rate, they acted as though it were a closed issue and turned to remove the Indian barrier west of Missouri, open up the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase without reference to slavery, and set in process the democratic machinery of creating self-government in the new territory or territories, thus opening the rail highway to the Pacific and new fields of profit to those near the Missouri border.

Unfortunately, politics and fanaticism stepped in to raise and bring to life the "dead issue." Douglas, therefore, revised his Nebraska bill by inserting provision for the specific repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the Missourians, outraged by the efforts of organized fanaticism to endanger their plans and their peace, undertook to protect their interests and to resist the encroachment upon self-government.

Malin's main effort has been a meticulous analysis of the political moves and other forms of expression of the people of northwest Missouri. He first makes a careful demographic survey of that area showing it to be a region of small farms, varied crops, and relatively few slaves. The people of this area, he then indicates, were not interested primarily in either slave extension or the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. They wanted westward development and their own greater prosperity. Not until outsiders interfered were they roused by fears about their slave property.

This thesis of Malin's, at odds as it is with current views about the "border ruffians," appears to have much to commend it, though it must be recorded that it is based on the rather fragmentary surviving files of the few newspapers of the region. The author, however, has subjected his evidence to the strictest kind of analysis. And, being also a penetrating historical philosopher, he places his findings in a setting of significance in the general history of the period. In the near future his philosophy should receive attention as he has developed it here and in his other grassland studies.

Once again, Mr. Malin has demonstrated his great capacity for fact finding and keen analysis, his wide reading, and the far-flung horizon of his vision. This great care and wide coverage, however, have tempted him to indulge in a heaviness of style which limits his audience. His work deserves close study as his find-

ings contribute significantly to an understanding of the forces shaping and threatening democracy.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

AMERICANS INTERPRET THEIR CIVIL WAR. By *Thomas J. Pressly*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 347. \$5.00.)

HISTORIOGRAPHY—the criticism of historians and of their interpretations of history—is a subject which makes severe demands of those who venture to write about it. First, it demands an adequate first-hand familiarity with the kinds of primary sources from which history is written. Second, it demands the mature wisdom which comes from long years of reflection upon the complex problems of historical interpretation. Third, it demands intellectual detachment, the priceless capacity to judge history's records with serenity. These qualities are rarely possessed by young historians just beginning their careers; they are sometimes acquired by experienced historians at the peaks of their careers. To attempt a historiographical study without them is to begin with a crippling handicap. This is a handicap which Thomas J. Pressly's book on Civil War historians does not entirely overcome.

Pressly's appraisal of ninety years of interpretive writing about the Civil War suggests that until recently the most discerning approach was achieved by the historians who were identified with the "nationalist tradition." The key to their interpretation of the Civil War was their belief that the moral issue of slavery was its chief cause and their "feeling of satisfaction" with its outcome. James Ford Rhodes was the founder of this tradition; Turner, Wilson, Channing, McMaster, and others in the first generation of trained historians endorsed it; and an occasional member of the second generation, such as Arthur C. Cole, restated it and brought it up to date.

But in the generation after the First World War, Pressly thinks, the "nationalist tradition" was challenged by a strange assortment of Marxists, southerners, Beardians, and "revisionists." Herbert Aptheker wrote like an "extreme abolitionist," Frank L. Owsley like a southern "fire-eater." Charles A. Beard minimized the moral issue of slavery and stressed a struggle between rival economic classes; his dislike of northern capitalism and his dismay at the results of the war caused him to sound "pro-Confederate" and almost to make the southern planters "the heroes of his narrative." Finally, Avery Craven and James G. Randall, the leading "revisionists," disillusioned with war, "sentimental" and "excessively optimistic" about the nature of man, portrayed a "repressible conflict," a "needless war," precipitated by the irresponsible agitators of a "blundering generation."

Following the Second World War Pressly saw signs of a new outlook, a healthy reaction against recent interpretations, and the beginnings of a "new nationalist tradition." Samuel Eliot Morison, by censuring historians who "ignored

wars, belittled wars, taught that no war was necessary and no war did any good, even to the victor," and Reinhold Niebuhr, by preaching "the reality of evil in the universe, the complexity of the problems faced by human beings, and the tragedy inherent in existence," pointed the way. The "new nationalist tradition" was espoused by Bernard DeVoto, by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and (somewhat ambiguously) by Allan Nevins. These writers again stressed the "moral urgency" of the slavery issue and believed that "war and evil" played "an enduring role in the world, never becoming completely outmoded by historical 'progress.'" It is to this "new nationalist tradition" (which deserves serious attention) that Pressly adheres with considerable emotion.

If limitations of space have required a somewhat simplified version of Pressly's point of view, this hardly does him the injustice that he has done to some of the historians about whom he has written. One need not swallow whole the interpretations of such scholars as Beard, Owsley, Craven, or Randall to appreciate their contributions to our understanding of the Civil War crisis. Surely they are entitled to a more judicious evaluation than they receive here. Carl Becker's "classic stricture" upon a book that was written "without fear and without research" does not seem to be an altogether inappropriate description of Pressly's volume.

Pressly properly states that subjective factors necessarily influence historical interpretations—including, presumably, the interpretations of the "new nationalists." (Some of them seem to have in mind the Second World War and the prospect of a third more than the Civil War.) But a reasonably competent historian will also be influenced by the sources from which "the facts of history-as-actuality" are derived. When the sources remain unexamined, subjective factors can play upon the mind of the historian without restraint. Pressly might therefore find a study of Civil War primary sources a chastening experience.

University of California, Berkeley

KENNETH M. STAMPP

CALIFORNIA'S UTOPIAN COLONIES. By *Robert V. Hine*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1953. Pp. xi, 209. \$4.00.)

DREAMS of the perfectibility of man and plans for a better social order have found a fertile soil and favorable climate in California, according to this compact, scholarly account of them. In number and variety they exceed those of any other state. Secular and religious colonies alike have been attracted to a far western retreat in some pleasant valley, a tract of mountain timber land, or even an arm of the desert more favored than the rest. Some of them—Altruria, Kaweah, and Llano del Rio—could be called indigenous. Others, like Fountain Grove and Point Loma, were planted by groups from other states. In both types there was a significant nonresident support. Utopia thus linked the Pacific Coast with New York and Denver, Paris and Nauvoo, and found both money and membership in a

network of local organizations that might stretch from one coast to the other.

In California as elsewhere utopian colonies showed the mark of some individual personality—a Job Harriman, Edward B. Payne, or Katherine Tingley—whose ideas and powers of leadership determined the character of the colony and held it together. On the other hand, they reflected in some degree the broader currents of social and humanitarian thinking. Little of the influence of Owen or Fourier is visible and the socialism of Marx expressed itself only indirectly. But Bellamy and Swedenborg, Noyes and Gronlund had their spokesmen, and the Theosophical Society its leading representatives. A number of colonies, though geographically isolated, traced their lineage ideologically to well-known names of the nineteenth century.

In point of time utopia came late to California, for the movement as a whole had passed its peak before the far western colonies were founded. The author's chronological chart (p. 8) shows as many colonies after 1900 as before, three of which were still active in the decade 1940–50. Perhaps it is true that the local stage of economic development has been as important in the founding of such communities as the progress from agrarian to urban and industrial civilization in the country at large. California is still a place of opportunity (and escape) for many people, and for such persons life there is still the stuff that dreams are made of.

Whether the product of the nineteenth century or the twentieth, the California colonies showed the strengths and the weaknesses of utopian experiments elsewhere. They were highly individual in character and brought together not only intelligent and high-minded souls but also a "motley lot, assorted cranks of many creeds and none." Lacking capital and economic know-how, more than one community foundered on the rock of financial mismanagement. Administration was often impractical, a "locomotive's machinery on a bicycle," that broke down of its own weight and complexity. Isolation and aloofness from the outer world, not to mention unorthodox social views, too often led to criticism and misunderstanding.

Utopia has left but little lasting impression on the face of the land, only memories now growing dim of noble experiments in better living here or there. Yet this is a significant chapter in the history of the state, and the author has written it competently and well. It is particularly welcome since it gives us a description and appraisal of utopian experience in an area where it has previously been covered only imperfectly if at all.

University of Washington

CHARLES M. GATES

RAILROADS OF NEW YORK: A STUDY OF GOVERNMENT AID, 1826–1875. By *Harry H. Pierce*. [Studies in Economic History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 208. \$3.00.)

Railroads of New York demonstrates, on the basis of voluminous and carefully tested evidence, that state and particularly local aid to railways was by far the most important single source of capital used to construct the original network in New York. Because this fact, even when hinted at, has heretofore been consistently dismissed without proper evaluation the implication is clear that state and local assistance elsewhere in the nation deserves further research and re-evaluation, particularly in those areas where, as in New York, both federal and foreign aid played negligible roles as primary capital.

There was no lack of capital as such in New York, but those wealthy men who possessed it at first sought more remunerative outlets in the West, while state aid was forbidden after 1846. Hence the initial risk for New York railroads had to be borne largely by the communities who desired service; no less than 315 cities and towns furnished some \$37,000,000—usually by selling their own bonds and buying rail stock with the proceeds—prior to 1875 when the state legislature prohibited the practice. As it turned out, hardly more than ten per cent of these municipal investments proved profitable financially. Yet, as Pierce emphasizes repeatedly, the objective of local aid was, first and foremost, to secure desperately needed service and, to a lesser extent, to improve land values. Judged by these criteria, the aid extended was not only timely and of critical importance to the railroads but, on balance, rewarding to the communities. This study, therefore, presents a strong case for reappraisal of the standards by which all forms of public aid to transportation should be judged.

Pierce's specific findings in other respects have relevance to railway development as a whole. The delusions of grandeur held by certain New York communities, the ingenious promotional efforts of new-born roads, the intercity rivalries, the fair-weather aspect of community-railroad relations, the local prejudices of state courts as contrasted to the corporate bias of federal courts, the "squeeze play" tactics of some corporations and the ruthless intercorporate warfare—all these were repeated up and down the land during the heroic generation of railway growth. Thus in many ways this book is a microcosm whose significance transcends the state boundaries implied in the title.

This book is carefully written and amply supplied with excellent maps, pertinent statistics, and a workable bibliography and index. At times it would have been helpful in the text to have the countless predecessor companies identified with the present successor systems; but this is a detail. In general the study is a model of clarity, the style varied and eminently readable. *Railroads of New York* is a first-rate piece of work.

Northwestern University

R. C. OVERTON

GULF TO ROCKIES: THE HERITAGE OF THE FORT WORTH AND
DENVER-COLORADO AND SOUTHERN RAILWAYS, 1861-1898. By

Richard C. Overton. [Studies in Business History, Volume I.] (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1953. Pp. xiii, 410. \$5.00.)

Despite its title, *Gulf to Rockies* is not the story of Denver's railroad connection with the Gulf, for the two railroads as here discussed reached a point just 338 miles short of the Gulf. But a misleading title should not induce one to underrate this book, for it is one of solid achievement. With painstaking detail, Richard Overton works his way through the morass of Colorado railroad politics, previously slogged through by George Anderson and Herbert Brayer. Here are the familiar antagonists, the Denver and Rio Grande, the Santa Fe, and the Union Pacific, with other lesser lines involved at times, all attempting to control routes and transportation from Denver to the east, south, and west. Use of the correspondence of the railroad officials enabled the author to trace the intricate maneuverings of the wily antagonists like the diplomatic historian using foreign office documents. One may question whether any shift of opinion, any change of plan, any objection that he found is omitted in this involved but effectively organized and straightforwardly written story.

Grenville Dodge and John Evans loom largely in this story as constructive builders, planners, sound and honest men though they frequently collided. Jay Gould, not surprisingly, is the villain. The difference in their methods, as I see it, is largely one of degree and the blatancy of Gould rather than of morality. Overton dislikes to impute evil to his characters and finds it more pleasant to judge them favorably. For Dodge, his admiration is unbounded. This perhaps explains the failure to examine critically the financial details of the various companies and their reorganizations or to discuss construction problems. Labor scarcely seems to be a part of railroad history.

Some questions need to be raised about interpretations. It is too late to maintain that land grants were not gifts or subsidies though why the question is dragged into a treatment of railroads which had no grant is not clear. Charles S. Morgan long since effectively squashed the notion that the grants constituted the "bargain" to the government that railroad-oriented historians deem them to have been. Was not public opposition sufficient to deter the railroads from developing towns? Where the author argues a case, as in the matter of defending Grenville Dodge for his part in developing railroad towns and organizing construction companies, he is less convincing than where he lets the facts speak for themselves.

Few historians have the technical knowledge of railroading and the enthusiasm for research to produce works of such high competence as this. It might be said that this competence could better be devoted to roads of more significance but *Gulf to Rockies* is an offshoot of a more comprehensive study of the Burlington system. One may predict that before Overton is through with the Burlington and the Perkins family, they will be among the best known railroads and railroad executives in our history.

Cornell University

PAUL W. GATES

STEAM POWER ON THE AMERICAN FARM. By *Reynold M. Wik*, May Treat Morrison Professor of American History, Mills College, Oakland, California. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for American Historical Association, 1953. Pp. xi, 288. \$5.00.)

THIS study originated as a research project for a doctoral dissertation in the department of history at the University of Minnesota for the completion and publication of which the author was the recipient of the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship for 1950 provided by the American Historical Association.

The most important barometer of American agriculture has been the shift in the type and amount of power and equipment used on the farm. This may be divided into four stages: hand, animal, steam, and gasoline. Steam power on the farm has hitherto been given hardly more than passing attention by the historian and the novelist. This is the first comprehensive study to appear on the evolution and decline of steam power used for agricultural purposes. It bridges the gap between animal power and gasoline power.

Dr. Wik describes the arrival on the farm of the stationary steam engine in the early 1800's, the portable engine in the 1840's, and the self-propelling engine in the 1870's; and the development and application of steam engines to machines for threshing grain and for processing products on the farm, particularly on the large sugar and cotton plantations. The only notable exception in which animal power gave way to mechanical power in the nineteenth century was the general application of steam power to the threshing machine and the harvester-thresher combine, and the limited application of steam engines to plows.

This study deals particularly with the use of steam power in the major grain-growing regions of the United States; the steam engine boom from 1885 to 1912 which was "the heyday of steam power on the farm"; the manufacture, sale, and financing of steam traction engines, harvester, threshing machines, and combines; threshermen's organizations and schools; and the social effects of steam power in bringing together the people of the farming community. Special consideration is given to "the manufacturers who built these early engines and the farm engineers who operated them in the field" as "innovators endeavoring to make power farming a reality."

The concluding chapter, on the transition from the steam engine to the gasoline tractor, brings out the fact that the amount of steam power on the farm reached its height in 1910 and leveled off until 1920 when it began a sharp decline to the vanishing point by the 1930's. Animal power continued to rise to 1915, and then declined rapidly from 26,493,000 horses and mules on farms in that year to 7,499,000 in 1950. Meanwhile, gasoline power advanced gradually from the turn of the century to 1915 when it exceeded steam power, mounting rapidly during World War I and the 1920's when it finally exceeded animal power before the close of the decade.

This is a noteworthy contribution to the history of American agriculture; ade-

quately illustrated and well told, it reads like a romance. It is supported by thirty-five pages of reference notes, an appendix on manufacturers of agricultural steam engines, an extensive and well-classified bibliography of twenty pages, and a useful index.

A few errors have been noted; among them the article cited in the third reference to the second chapter (p. 217) appears in *Science*, LXXII (1930), 585-94, while the title of the article for which the reference in *Agricultural History* is given should be "The Agricultural Revolution in the Prairies and Great Plains of the United States."

Iowa State College

LOUIS BERNARD SCHMIDT

BRITISH IMMIGRANTS IN INDUSTRIAL AMERICA, 1790-1950. By Rowland Tappan Berthoff. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 296. \$5.00.)

THIS book is altogether admirable, both in its conception and its execution. The term "British" includes the English, Welsh, Scottish, Protestant Irish, and English-speaking Canadian immigrants in the United States.

Following an introductory chapter dealing with the subject in general terms and with the statistics of immigration, the author divides the book into two parts. In Part I he discusses the "Economic Adjustment" of these people in their adopted country. Mr. Berthoff shows that British immigrants, much more largely than the general run of newcomers, had worked in industrial trades in the old country; and he shows with equal clarity that British immigrants in the United States, "generally holding the best-paid jobs, were more skilled than most other nationalities." In successive chapters he not only demonstrates the significant role of the British worker in the important textile, mining, and heavy metals industries but he also indicates the importance of their skills in potteries, paper mills, granite quarries, the building trades, and the merchant marine. Nor does he neglect the attraction which the cattle industry in the West held for Englishmen and Scots of means. A very interesting chapter is devoted to the British immigrant in the movement to organize the industrial workers in America.

In Part II Mr. Berthoff examines the "Cultural Adjustment" of the British immigrants. "Their cultural background made the New World less bewildering [to them] than it was to other foreigners." Not only did they obtain the best jobs but, with "habits of thought" acceptable to Americans, they enjoyed other unique advantages "over most newcomers." With high wages, they "could escape the social barriers which starvation wages imposed." Nevertheless, like other immigrants, the British sought, wherever possible, to perpetuate familiar ways of the old country. "At whatever points America seemed lacking they banded together in their own social institutions." Especially important in relation to the preservation of the cultural heritage of the British newcomers were their immigrants'

societies. For a long time the immigrants felt they belonged to a British-American community, a sort of half-way point on the road to ultimate assimilation.

This monograph is based upon a wide variety of source materials, most notable of which are the immigrant press, trade-union newspapers, trade journals, and other special periodicals. It is earnestly to be hoped that other immigrant groups in this country may ultimately have histories as thorough, as free from national bias, and as revealing as this one of the British.

Brown University

JAMES B. HEDGES

THE FORGING OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM: ORIGINS OF THE MODERN MOVEMENT. By *Howard H. Quint*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 409. \$6.00.)

In this volume, Dr. Quint, associate professor of history in the University of South Carolina, presents a clear and scholarly account of the history of the American Socialist movement from the seventies until the turn of the present century. The book gives particular attention to the impact of Socialism on American thought and action during the fifteen-year period from 1886 to 1901. It devotes separate chapters to the coming of Marxism to America with the immigration of German Socialists; the unsuccessful attempt of Socialists during the eighties and nineties to mold the policies of organized labor; the message and influence of the great utopian writer, Edward Bellamy; the forces back of the Christian Socialist crusade of the nineties; the iron discipline imposed by Daniel DeLeon on the Socialist Labor party, and the revolt against the DeLeon leadership; the rise of the Socialist movement in the Middle West, led by Eugene Victor Debs, Victor L. Berger, J. A. Wayland, the "One Hoss Editor," and others, and the union between these western leaders and the Socialist forces in the East led by Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, and others. The book concludes with a description of the Debs presidential campaign in 1900 and the unity convention of 1901 which gave birth to the Socialist party, U.S.A.

The volume is well documented and contains the most comprehensive picture that has yet been given of the varying schools of thought and action in the American Socialist movement at the end of the last century. Its objectivity is in sharp contrast with the bias shown by Dr. Ira Kipnis, in his *The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912* (1952).

In his preface, Dr. Quint observes that the upsurge of Socialism in the late nineteenth century was not inspired mainly by the classic doctrines of the European Socialists but came primarily as "a protest against the social inequities resulting from the tremendous economic concentration taking shape in these hectic years of industrial growth." He believes that this upsurge "owes more for its inspiration to Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* than it did to Karl Marx's *Das Capital*."

While there is much to say for this point of view (particularly since few in America during those days thoroughly read and understood Marx's massive work) the author fails to supply sufficient data to convince the reader of the correctness of his conclusion. He gives little information regarding the way in which specific social evils led to the development of the various groupings in the movement. Nor does he present to the reader any clear analysis of the essential principles of Marxian Socialism in Europe and its constantly evolving tactics adjusted to changing economic and political conditions. Many leaders and members of the American Socialist movement called themselves Marxists during this period, but the Marxism of such leaders as Morris Hillquit was a far cry from that of Marx and Engels when they wrote the Communist Manifesto. A chapter on the European backgrounds of the American movement, with a clear explanation of the varying interpretations of Marx which, on the one hand, led to the evolutionary, democratic Marxism of Kautsky, and, on the other hand, to the Bolshevik Marxism of Lenin, would have given the reader of Dr. Quint's book a better conception of how to classify American Socialists; what they meant when they preached the class struggle; what goal they were aiming to attain and the means they proposed for attaining it.

The volume, however, despite its defects, is a welcome and valuable addition to the literature on this subject, and it is hoped that Professor Quint will continue his studies and publications on the development of this significant social movement during the present century.

New York, N. Y.

HARRY W. LAIDLER

FORD: THE TIMES, THE MAN, THE COMPANY. By *Allan Nevins*, with the Collaboration of *Frank Ernest Hill*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. Pp. xvi, 688. \$6.75.)

MANY efforts have been made to interpret Henry Ford and his career, but little has been done on the history of the Ford Motor Company. The Nevins volume is not only the first full-length history of the company but the first in which Ford, the company, the early development of automobiles in Europe and America, and the economic background of the industry has been interwoven. Such a study was long overdue, and it supersedes any and all work on the subject. It was made possible by the opening of the company archives, the most complete of any such industrial collection available. It is fortunate that the work was done by a historian of experience, skill, and ability, aided by a staff of able research workers. Since efforts to interpret Ford have been continuous for over thirty years, it is probable that the most useful parts of the book are the history of the Ford Motor Company and the two chapters on the battle over the Selden patent. But any effort to understand Ford would be incomplete without reading the final chapter.

It is fortunate for the author and doubtless for the reader that this history ends in 1916. These were the great days of the expansion of the Ford industry and the period when Ford made his great contributions. It precedes his years of despotic domination, his rough labor policy, and his curious pronouncements on history, sociology, and other fields concerning which he knew nothing. Ford's contributions were few but extremely important: the continual production of a cheaper car until it came within the price range of an increasing number of purchasers, mass production through the assembly line technique, and the high minimum wage of five dollars a day. These policies were essentially his, and they did much to revolutionize American industry.

It should be remembered that the automobile industry was established in Europe before it developed in America. Others built cars in this country before Ford began to tinker with them. He developed little that was fundamentally new. What he did was to watch, suggest, and inspire other mechanics with an "intuitive" sense of the right trail. Like most early automobile mechanics Ford was a "trial and error" man, not a blueprint devotee. The results were sometimes miraculous. Said an executive after reading one of Ford's orders, "It's a fool thing, an impossible thing, but he has accomplished so many impossible things that I have learned to defer judgment and await the outcome. Take the Ford engine for example; according to all the laws of mechanics the damn thing ought not to run, but it does." The reviewer, who owned at least two Model T's, can testify that they did, but there was usually something wrong with them. He reads with a certain coldness the author's spirited account of the development of the Model T.

There is much human interest in this story, but the book as a whole is a cool and accurate account of Ford and his place in the automobile industry. It is no glorification of Ford or big business; Ford was the antithesis of the typical business magnate. The contributions of such men as Wills, Hawkins, Sorenson, Knudson, Lee and, of course, James Cousens, the business manager, are given due credit. Says Nevins, "Two men, James Cousens and Henry Ford, were indispensable to the early success of the Ford Motor Company. It would be fair to say that the contributions of Cousens in these years were as important as those of Ford, but it should also be said that though the country had a good many men of the talent and training of Cousens, it had only one Henry Ford." The Ford Motor Company was one of the few that survived among the scores of automobile concerns that started in the early chaotic years. Its history is fascinating, and the book does it justice.

Smith College

HAROLD U. FAULKNER

OUT OF THESE ROOTS: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN AMERICAN WOMAN. By *Agnes E. Meyer*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1953. Pp. 385. \$4.00.)

THE readers of this book—and they should be many—have Edward Weeks, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* to thank, for it was he who prevailed upon the author to write it. It is an exciting and penetrating book which every person interested in social justice, human dignity, and self-fulfillment, and in safeguarding and promoting American ideals should read and ponder. No brief review can adequately portray either the magnitude of her contribution to the cause of human freedom or the extent of her devotion to the enrichment of human life and happiness.

The early chapters trace the story of childhood and adolescence, of graduation from Morris High School in New York City, of her four years in Barnard College—wasted years for her until she met John Dewey, who became the greatest single influence in her life—of her early experience as a newspaper reporter, of her first trip to Europe in 1908, thus broadening her horizons and enabling her to catch glimpses of Chinese art and culture which henceforth were to be a major intellectual interest, of her return home, her marriage in 1910 to Eugene Meyer and a six-months' honeymoon around the world.

Unlike so many of her college friends, Mrs. Meyer refused to allow her marriage and the raising of a family of five children to smother her individuality or her intellectual interests. Returning to Morningside Heights she again resumed her formal studies with John Dewey, James Harvey Robinson, and Charles Austin Beard. These empirical idealists together with Thorstein Veblen and Mr. Justice Holmes, whom she was later to meet—one at the New School for Social Research and the other in Washington—profoundly influenced her thinking and gave direction to her later activities. The spring of 1914, when she had been married four years and had two children, found her back in Europe and absorbed in Oriental art, religion, history, literature, and philosophy. Though World War I forced her to leave Europe, she continued her study and research, and in 1923 her learned volume, *Chinese Painting as Reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Lung-mien*, was published. The wisdom of the Chinese sages, she tells us, "lifted me outside the self and taught me to look upon man and his environment as a superb, unending, continuous whole. . . . I was freed from the prejudices of race and religion, and the sense of superiority which mar the thinking of the white Christian world, and from the consequent authoritarian habits of mind which are to blame more than we have realized for the cruel exploitation of peoples the world over known as 'imperialism.'"

No one who reads this book can doubt that Mrs. Meyer has courageously practiced what she believes whether working under the tutelage of Boss Ward, of her New York home county, Westchester, helping to unseat Boss Crump of Memphis, warring on the stupidity, corruption, and indifference of American officialdom, urging the nation-wide need for trained civil servants and for strengthening family and community life, protecting our natural resources, ridding the land of poverty, slums, and crime, demanding medical care and just

treatment for every person irrespective of color, creed, or national extraction, pleading for the extension of social security or the lessening of the octopus-like growth and power of the federal government. Her chapter describing her efforts to improve public education is a masterpiece. In her opinion, the public school is the greatest single force in American life.

That we have communists in our midst is, she believes, our own fault: "We know in our hearts that our so-called democracy has excluded millions of citizens from a normal life and the normal American privileges of health, housing and education. We cannot defeat Communism by driving it underground. We can only defeat it by promoting community and family stability, by keeping all lines of communication open between all classes and conditions of men, by making democracy a reality not for the favored citizens who were born in the upper half of the economic level or in the right geographical area but for all the people everywhere."

Columbia University

HARRY J. CARMAN

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: THE ORDEAL. By *Frank Freidel*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. 320. \$6.00.)

IN this book Professor Freidel has amply fulfilled the high expectations awakened by his first volume. It is hardly possible to speak of a "definitive" biography of a personality so complex, so subtle, and, in the deep sense, so self-sufficient as Franklin Roosevelt. But it is certainly fair enough to describe this work as indispensable to anyone who would understand one of the most remarkable personalities of our time. The picture presented as a highly judicious one, neither excessively laudatory nor hypercritical. It reflects high credit not only on the author's capacity for research but on his ability to evaluate and describe.

In the Roosevelt of the years from 1918 to 1928 there are both attractive and unattractive qualities. It is impossible not to admire the courage and the optimism with which F.D.R. faced his great ordeal. It is easy to lose sight of this period in preoccupation with his later career. It is a service to give us a picture of this part of his life at once so close to the facts, and so revelatory of some of the sources of Roosevelt's strength.

There are equivocations and reversals of judgment in the career of many a great politician. But the subject of this biography possessed a very remarkable capacity for shifting his ground with the times. He could boast in the campaign of 1920 of having written the Haitian constitution, and eight years later write an article for *Foreign Affairs* in which he laid down the principle of nonintervention. He could speak at Centralia "of the martyred members of the American Legion who here gave their lives in the sacred cause of Americanism," and yet keep aloof from the reaction which was connected with the period. He could talk of conservation and development of natural resources in a way calculated to win

both conservatives and liberals. He seems to have been able to avoid too definite commitments on prohibition. He was in 1920, and indeed for some time thereafter, a friend of the League of Nations. But it is significant that Professor Freidel finds it possible to omit entirely any reference to the great battle over the League plan in the Democratic nominating convention in 1924. Truly, here was a man marked out for a political career.

And yet behind the politician, beyond all question, there is something much more. One senses in the Roosevelt of the interim years the generous champion of progress, the man who could and later did preside with gusto and social sympathy over the great changes of the thirties, the man who saw the role of America in the world at large in terms of wide responsibility and who never lost or forgot entirely the heritage of Woodrow Wilson. Undeniably there was in Roosevelt the passion for human betterment.

Objectivity in historical writing can, with some writers, give a sort of pallor to the narrative. Professor Freidel has given us a biography with color but without distortion, with judgment but without prejudice. All members of our gild will look forward to his next volume.

University of Rochester

DEXTER PERKINS

THE UNDECLARED WAR, 1940-1941: THE WORLD CRISIS AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *William L. Langer* and *S. Everett Gleason*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations. 1953. Pp. xvi, 963. \$10.00.)

THIS is global history in the grand manner. In it the authors continue the stately progress through the prewar maze which characterized their earlier volume, *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-1940* (reviewed in this journal, LVIII [July, 1953], 956-59). Writing within a decade of the events they describe, they had access to an unusually wide range of published memoirs as well as to sources printed and documentary, official and individual, which often lie sequestered for a generation. Though the volume thus carries an unusual impress of authority, its authors disclaim any implication of writing "official" history.

The narrative shuttles, sometimes bewilderingly, from East to West as the tides of diplomacy and conflict ebb and flow between the Tripartite Pact and the Pearl Harbor disaster. From the pact the reader follows the frustrations which led Hitler into Russia and his moves to rescue his bumbling co-Caesar from the consequences of that worthy's military ineptitude. He watches American policy develop from tardy rearmament through Lend-Lease to involvement in the Atlantic war, then turns to the mounting Japanese-American drama which culminates at Pearl Harbor. Side excursions to Finland and Poland, the Near and Middle East, North Africa and Vichy France, and into Anglo-American and inter-

American relations round out the story. No brief review can more than catalogue the topics covered.

This is our most detailed account of the forces whose resultant was the policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Here we see a seeker after re-election, constrained for political reasons to minimize the likelihood of war; the head of a cabinet torn between advocates of vigorous action and a cautious Secretary of State; a commander in chief whose military technicians demand more time to prepare for the war they deem increasingly likely; a politician compelled to deal with a Congress wherein a still powerful isolationism is entrenched. And in the wings stand Winston Churchill, polite but increasingly importunate as his position deteriorates, and Joseph Stalin, importunate but hardly polite. Out of these forces, in the authors' carefully drawn portrait, emerges no dictator, rushing headlong into war; here is scant support for the devil-theory. On the contrary, they reinforce earlier accounts which document his fumbling administration of defense production at a time when the battle was increasingly one of the assembly lines. They show him repeatedly, almost habitually, lagging behind or at best keeping in step with the march of public opinion, rather than scheming to circumvent its laggard development. They show him early exhibiting that overconfidence in his ability to deal with Russia which was later to dog his memory in the volumes of his detractors.

The book makes contributions appealing to each reader. This one found particularly fresh the account of the successive dilemmas confronting Hitler, the picture of wartime Russia, staring defeat in the face but still graspingly demanding far-reaching political agreements as a necessary prelude to military co-operation in saving her own existence, the convolutions of Japanese-American negotiations in the last days, and the portrait of a far-from-all-wise American chief executive. The writing is always lucid but seldom lively. The successful attempt to be encyclopedic at times leads to long discussions of important but peripheral areas and problems and detracts from the total impact of the work. At the risk of asking for something which the authors may have deliberately avoided, this reader at least would have profited by a chapter of conclusions and some comment on the sources.

Rutgers University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT AND ITS AFTERMATH. Edited by *Harry Elmer Barnes*. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1953. Pp. xiii, 679. \$6.00.)

THIS book is a collection of essays on the foreign policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt written by prominent "revisionists" (Barnes, Tansill, Sanborn, Neumann, Morgenstern, Greaves, Chamberlin, and Lundberg). Though there are variations in emphasis, the general thesis of the book is as follows: President

Roosevelt's policies helped to provoke and prolong the Asiatic and European wars. The President then deliberately maneuvered the United States into those wars against the will of the majority of the American people and against national interests. According to these authors, the internationalist policies of President Roosevelt contributed to the rise of the Soviet Union to world power and to the present international tensions and insecurity. They predict that unless the United States returns to a policy of "continentalism" the nation may be headed for the nightmare described by George Orwell in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and toward World War III.

It is unlikely that there will ever in our time be agreement among historians concerning the motives for and the wisdom of Roosevelt's foreign policies. With the relatively inexact methods and incomplete data at his command, even the finest historian can often make only semi-informed guesses concerning causes, motives, and what-might-have-been if some other course of action had been followed. In those areas where certainty of truth is beyond the historian's grasp, scholars have been too eager to paint in simplified blacks and whites. Extreme pro-Roosevelt writers imply that the President's motives were characterized by selfless idealism and that policies significantly different from those which Roosevelt followed would have had tragic results for the nation and the world. In striking contrast, the authors of this volume credit Roosevelt with base motives; blame most of the world's present problems on the Roosevelt and Truman policies; and suggest that a "continentalist" policy might have resulted in almost utopian bliss for the nation. Furthermore, both "revisionists" and "court historians," by focusing their studies narrowly on President Roosevelt and top governmental leaders, in effect, minimize or ignore the causal significance of other economic, intellectual, psychological, political, ethnic, and public opinion developments within the United States and other nations. This volume edited by Dr. Barnes is a provocative and forceful statement of the "revisionist" point of view. But the book might have been sounder and more convincing if the authors had applied the same standards of historical criticism to evidence favorable to their thesis as they applied to evidence which conflicted with their thesis; if they had been less determined to select their evidence only from the anti-Roosevelt portion of the record; if they had more clearly emphasized limitations and conflicts of evidence; and if they had clothed more of their interpretations in the humble garb of hypotheses rather than in the royal robes of unimpeachable truths.

University of Arkansas

WAYNE S. COLE

THE SECRET DIARY OF HAROLD L. ICKES: THE FIRST THOUSAND DAYS, 1933-1936. By *Harold L. Ickes*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1953. Pp. xi, 738. \$6.00.)

WHEN this book was published, newspaper stories quoted Mrs. Ickes as saying "Harold had no patience with the Parson Weems variety of history, and neither

have I. Some readers of the diary are going to be hurt." As those who knew Harold Ickes would expect, this diary is blunt and belligerent. Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Harry Hopkins receive devastating treatment. Louis Howe and James Farley receive high praise. The passages about Franklin Roosevelt are shrewd, varying between praise and criticism depending on the "Old Curmudgeon's" mood. Like many diaries dealing with public affairs this one is immensely revealing of the character and nature of the writer himself. Here he is—vain, honest, and pugnacious. He was a devoted public servant, and one amazingly sensitive to criticism in spite of his many years of political experience.

In her simple but moving introduction to this first volume of the diary, Mrs. Ickes describes how her husband dictated the diary once a week from copious notes. Then, she writes, "It was his invariable habit to destroy the secretaries' shorthand notes and all preliminary drafts, usually burning them himself in the fireplace." Not all the diary—she estimates it runs to six million words—will be published. Details of interest only to historians and "other parts" about people still living have been deleted. Deleted by whom and from where in the account? This is the major weakness in this book. Simon and Schuster blithely state: "The sections of Harold L. Ickes' diary published here are exactly as they were written by him, with no changes or editing." But where do the deletions occur? The editor or editors have inserted no ellipses to indicate. The result is primitive editing that would not be acceptable in any historical methods course. It certainly should not hurt the popular sale to let the reader know where deletions have been made.

Yet, in spite of this editorial weakness, it is a valuable and useful picture of the first four years of the Roosevelt administration. It will contribute much to an understanding of the period. But historians will be wise to check and double-check this material against other sources to gain a more rounded view. For Harold Ickes' natural reaction to men and events seemed always to take the form of a violent explosion. He was always a colorful figure who deserved attention. So does this diary by an unrestrained witness of significant times.

University of Chicago

WALTER JOHNSON

FRANCO-SPANISH RIVALRY IN NORTH AMERICA, 1524-1763. By *Henry Folmer*. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1953. Pp. 346. \$10.00.)

DR. Folmer's volume gives us a detailed account of the clash of colonial and commercial ambitions of Spain and France in the North American continent, from the first appearance of a French ship in the western Atlantic down to the elimination of France as a colonial power in the Seven Years' War. It supplies therefore an important chapter, on the one hand, of the attempt of Spain to maintain intact her monopoly of all lands and waters west of the demarcation line of 1494 and, on the other, of the early history of our own Southwest.

Scholarly interest in this facet of the expansion of Europe into the New World has been very substantial. Manuscript materials accumulated in this country are fairly extensive, especially copies of documents from Mexican archives in the University of Texas Library and from French national archives in the Library of Congress. A great deal of contemporary source material has also been printed, and the list of monographs and articles on special topics is not inconsiderable. In bringing this rich accumulation of information into focus in a single, continuous narrative, the volume serves a very useful purpose. Perhaps a disproportionate amount of space is given to the sixteenth century (about forty per cent), especially as the last thirty-five years, before the abrupt close of the narrative in 1763, are accorded only twenty pages. La Salle and Iberville, however, and French penetration westward into Texas and New Mexico come in for their appropriate share of attention.

Readers would be better served if the writer were more careful in his use of English, and in his statements of fact. Some strange observations appear, as that "Spain's rights [in America] were not based on recognized moral principles but on arbitrary, scholastic theories" (p. 29), or that the French in the sixteenth century were "barred by arbitrary international law from imitating the Spaniards" (p. 33). The understanding after the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559 that there was "no peace beyond the line," the author believes refers to the "papal line of demarcation of 1493" (pp. 14, 67, 70, 107), although he does refer on page 23 to the true line established by the treaty of Tordesillas a year later. As a matter of fact, the "line" as understood in 1559 was the meridian of Hierro, westernmost of the Canary Islands, used by Spanish and Portuguese geographers as the zero meridian dividing the eastern and western hemispheres. That the division of the world between Spain and Portugal was generally recognized "as an international *status quo*" (*sic*) during the first half-century after the discovery (pp. 26, 36) is questionable, as is the statement that Spanish cruelties against the Indians were a "weakness in Spain's title to America" (pp. 26, 28).

Other instances of loose or inaccurate statement are numerous. The term "frigate," for example, scarcely applies to vessels in the sixteenth century. French privateers under Jacques Sores did not "totally" destroy Havana in 1555 (p. 66). Coligny did not attempt to build a "naval base" in Rio de Janeiro bay, nor did the destruction of the French settlement by the Portuguese in 1560 mark the failure of the French to found a colony there (p. 75). Philip II did not "acquire" Florida for Spain by Menéndez de Avilés' victories over the French (p. 115); Portugal was not a "Spanish province" in 1610 (p. 128), or ever, for that matter; the northern coast of Santo Domingo did not become a French colony in 1629 (p. 132); and the West Indies in the seventeenth century were far from being "the most prosperous of the European settlements in the New World" (p. 132). Liberties are also taken with proper names, as when the count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain between 1746 and 1755, appears as the "Duke of Revilla" (p. 296).

Perhaps some critical comment on the highly inaccurate reports of men like La Salle and Diego de Peñalosa about geographical and social conditions in Spanish America and the prospects of conquest, would forestall erroneous impressions in the mind of the unwary reader. The views of La Salle and his ilk remind us of the schemes for the discovery of hidden Jesuit treasure in South America once so popular in London's West End clubs.

Dr. Folmer's narrative does not pretend to compete with the works of Parkman and Winsor, but it is a fascinating story, and deserved to be told, as he has told it, with emphasis upon day-by-day contacts in America.

Harvard University

C. H. HARING

THE SPANISH JESUIT MISSION IN VIRGINIA, 1570-1572. By *Clifford M. Lewis, S.J., and Albert J. Loomie, S.J.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Virginia Historical Society. 1953. Pp. xviii, 294. \$7.50.)

FOR over a century historians have, spasmodically, interested themselves in the early proceedings of the Spaniards in Chesapeake Bay, but, until recent years, the evidence available has not been sufficient to enable the story to be told coherently and in detail. In 1937 Dr. Maynard Geiger published a translation of Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616)*, which provided for the first time in English, an intelligible account of the 1588 expedition, while in 1946 Father Félix Zubillaga, with meticulous scholarship, published the corpus of Jesuit material on the Chesapeake mission of 1570-72 (*Monumentae antiquae Floridae [1566-1572]*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Vol. LXIX). These sources have not hitherto been assimilated by historians. Fathers Lewis and Loomie have now utilized them (and other materials) in a series of studies, the object of which is to present a full account of Spanish activities in Chesapeake Bay from its first discovery down to 1609, with the story of the Jesuit mission of 1570-72 as the central theme. The result is a most valuable addition to the general picture of the gradual unfolding of the eastern shores of North America to European eyes which must hereafter form an essential prologue to the Jamestown story. The authors have written with scholarship and enterprise. The task will not have to be done again. The narrative (pp. 5-60) rapidly paints the picture, the documents (texts, translations, and notes, pp. 67-227) authenticate it, while studies of topography, cartography, nomenclature, and other matters round it off. There is a full bibliography, highly accurate except for a few slips in dates. The index, though well arranged, does not, unfortunately, include all place and personal names.

The most interesting original contribution which the authors have to make is in tracing the Jesuit missionaries of 1570 up the left bank of the James River to some little way below the site of Jamestown and across the peninsula to the Indian settlement at Chiskiack on the York River. Zubillaga had here followed

Lowery in placing the mission on the Potomac. Brought down to the area settled from 1607 onward, the mission now fits into a tightly knit sequence of mingled Spanish and English enterprise lasting down to 1609. There is no doubt that the new conclusion is broadly correct, whether or not we can be certain that the first mass in 1570 was said on the site of Newport News or that Menéndez in 1572 landed precisely northwest of Mill Creek, near Old Point Comfort. Similarly, it is now possible to link with some plausibility the renegade Christian Indian, Luis de Velasco, who contributed substantially to the destruction of the mission, with Powhatan's family though it must remain in doubt whether he was Powhatan's father or elder brother (pp. 58-62).

This highly creditable achievement need be qualified only by some criticisms of detail. Miss I. A. Wright's *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-94* (1951) unfortunately appeared too late for the authors to utilize some of its information. The William Irishe expedition (p. 276) took place in 1587, not 1588, and was intimately associated with John White's voyage of that year (cf. Wright, pp. lxx-lxxi, 233-35). I prefer Miss Wright's "The month of May is too early on that coast" for their translation (p. 167), "in the month of May that coastline is green." The cartographical section (pp. 250-69) ranges widely though there are some mistakes. The Wright-Molyneux globe is not 1589 and is not in the Library of Congress (p. 261)—it was made in 1592 and the extant example belongs to Lord Leconfield.

University College of Swansea

DAVID B. QUINN

DON JUAN DE OÑATE: COLONIZER OF NEW MEXICO, 1595-1628. In Two Parts. By George P. Hammond, University of California, and Agapito Rey, Indiana University. [Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. Volumes V and VI.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 584; xv, 585-1187. \$20.00 per set.)

DURING the middle twenties George P. Hammond acquired a well-deserved reputation as a competent student of early New Mexico history, and since then his publications in collaboration with Agapito Rey have been responsible for a substantial increase in knowledge of colonial New Mexico and the Southwest. In the course of his earlier research Hammond found in the Archive of the Indies in Seville an "entire record of the founding of New Mexico as a permanent European colony." From these materials the present volumes on Juan de Oñate and the founding of the first New Mexican settlements have been compiled. This latest contribution perhaps climaxes two decades of fruitful enterprise on the part of Hammond and Rey.

The central figure of the settlement of New Mexico was Juan de Oñate, and the first major document in these two massive volumes is appropriately his original contract for settlement. One hundred and seventy-one other archival items,

each translated and edited, and in point of time covering the period from 1595 through 1628, recite the pioneer hardships, Indian troubles, explorations, financial dilemmas, and multitudinous other problems which faced the first governor and captain general. The don resigned from his official capacity in 1607, amidst a welter of investigations, inspections, and reports which suggest that at this juncture the future of New Mexico hung in the balance. Eventually the Spanish crown decided against abandoning the northern outposts, and by 1614, after many delays, a fine and banishment decree were delivered against Oñate.

Within three years the colonizer had launched a campaign for exoneration which was apparently successful by 1624. Although no account of the final years and death of the erstwhile leader has been uncovered, certainly the materials in this work help to substantiate the claim that the documentary sources about early New Mexico are possibly more complete than those of any other state in the union.

The volumes represent mature scholarship throughout and will stand henceforth as memorable accomplishments of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Commission. The introduction, a digest of the history of New Mexico over the period covered in the documents, is both highly readable and well integrated, while the format is in the excellent tradition of the Coronado series.

University of Texas

H. BAILEY CARROLL

COLECCIÓN DE DOCUMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA FORMACIÓN SOCIAL DE HISPANOAMÉRICA, 1493-1810. Edited by *Richard Konetzke*. Volume I, 1493-1592. (Madrid: Consejo superior de Investigaciones científicas. 1953. Pp. xxvii, 671.)

PRELIMINARY notices of this series of documents have aroused much interest, for the social structure of colonial times has never yet received precise historical evaluation. Colonial society was a composite of suddenly juxtaposed cultural and ethnic types whose interrelations allowed for innumerable local, temporary, and *ad hoc* solutions. It would probably be true to state that the pertinent historical data have defied all but the most superficial generalization. A meager historical product stands in contrast to the large quantity of unpublished archival materials, and the need for well-edited source publications remains.

The initial volume of Dr. Konetzke's series partly satisfies and partly fails to satisfy this need. For interested readers it should be made clear at the outset that the documents have been drawn from Spanish archives and selected at the highest levels of policy formation. Their direct concern is not with the society itself but with the imperial supervision of society. The work is to be regarded, therefore, as conservative in its editorial point of view. With the difference that its documents refer exclusively to matters of social legislation it falls in the colonial tradition established by Puga, Encinas, and the *Recopilación*. In the light of the

present requirements of Latin-American social history, this is a considerable limitation. Specifically it means the reissue of a number of documents already known (over half of the 481 texts have been previously published in whole or in part) and the restriction of the remainder to a limited number of categories: royal *cédulas*, royal *provisiones*, royal *cartas*, and royal *licencias*, with a smaller number of conciliar *consultas* and *ordenanzas*. Whether or not social history may accurately be represented by documents of these classes is a question that many Hispanic Americanists would answer in an emphatic negative. Dr. Konetzke's answer, a qualified affirmative, is elaborated and defended in the essay that introduces the volume under review.

Such problems notwithstanding, the collection offers other features of interest and value. It includes what is probably the most reliable version of the Laws of Burgos in print (the comparable text of the New Laws appears, however, only in fragmentary form). It fills lacunae in the details of imperial policies for *encomienda*, native labor, slavery, *cacicazgos*, and ethnosocial relationships, especially of the later sixteenth century. It does, of course, reflect the realities of colonial social structures to the extent that these structures were recognized by Spanish authorities and to the extent that they influenced programs of social legislation. Its introduction is a clearly expressed view of relations between society and government, and it has four indexes—of titles, persons, places, and subjects.

State University of Iowa

CHARLES GIBSON

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE JESUITS IN THE LA PLATA REGION: THE HAPSBURG ERA. By *Magnus Mörner*. Translation from the Original Manuscript by *Albert Read*. (Stockholm: Library and Institute of Ibero-American Studies. 1953. Pp. xv, 255. \$5.50.)

HISTÓRIA DAS BANDEIRAS PAULISTAS. In two volumes. By *Afonso d'E. Taunay*. (São Paulo: Edições Melhoramentos. 1953. Pp. 365; 329.)

SURPRISINGLY little of the extensive literature on the Jesuit missions of Paraguay is based on research in unpublished sources. In his work in several archives, however superficial in some cases, Magnus Mörner has discovered why previous writers have been discouraged by the formidable obstacles which must be overcome before a definitive history of the missions can be written. This dissertation indicates the rich harvest that awaits historians who have the time, resources, and academic preparation needed to exploit available sources.

Mörner chose to omit cultural and religious aspects of the mission system in order to concentrate on political and economic activities to 1700. He has, however, devoted more attention to the political than to the economic aspect of his subject but manages to throw considerable light on Jesuit colleges which have never received adequate study in connection with the mission system. The chap-

ter on Bishop Cárdenas is a well-organized, compact account of how Paraguayan Jesuits were forced to fight against intrigues of lay and clerical enemies to preserve their gains. Suspicion engendered by false accusations was dormant while Jesuit activities prospered in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Seeking to explain the extent of and reasons for Jesuit political and economic influence in the Plata area, the author reaches the not unexpected conclusion that the explanation lies in the nature of the Order and in the opportunities presented by the area for its activities.

Bibliographical comments reveal mastery of the published sources. The significant chapter of conclusions provides an adequate summary, and the scholar will find valuable material in the extensive footnotes.

Taunay's two volumes are a condensation of his *História Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas*, published in eleven volumes from 1924 to 1950, undertaken to celebrate São Paulo's 400th anniversary. Brazilian historians, conscious of frontier influences in their national development, have made notable contributions to historiography. Taunay has interpreted the colonizing process as one of advancing frontiers, of plantation agriculture, cattle raising, slave raiding, mining rushes, and exploration that carried intrepid *bandeirantes* into wildernesses incomparably difficult to penetrate.

The first *entradas*, or expeditions to the interior, were those of Alejo Garcia, Pero Lobo, and Cabeza de Vaca well before São Paulo was founded. The Paulistas, who became Brazil's most famous frontiersmen and explorers, began their *entradas* in search of gold and Indian slaves in the sixteenth century. Such noted leaders as Antônio Rapôso Tavares and Fernão Dias Pais, greatest of the *bandeirantes*, won undying fame for their exploits.

The first part of this condensation is primarily a catalogue of *bandeirantes* with brief remarks about achievements, conditions, and results of *entradas* in various parts of Brazil. In "The Cycle of Gold," the author describes the mining frontier, primarily in Minas Gerais, with its lusty, rowdy entrepreneurs, civil war, and ordinary tumults. In the second volume are described the activities of Paulistas in Cuiabá, Mato Grosso, Goiás, and Amazonia in the eighteenth century which won such a vast extent of territory for Portugal and, eventually, for Brazil. In the final chapter, Taunay provides a valuable summary view of the *bandeirante* movement.

University of Mississippi

HARRIS GAYLORD WARREN

* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

APHORISMEN UND SKIZZEN ZUR GESCHICHTE. By *Friedrich Meinecke*. (2d rev. ed.; Stuttgart, K. F. Koehler, 1953, pp. 182, DM 8.50.) In preparing his *Entstehung des Historismus* (Munich, 1936) and the memorial address on Ranke which was delivered in the same year, Meinecke wrote down a number of draft paragraphs which he has compared to the sketches by an artist which precede the composition of a large-scale painting. A selection from these aphoristic drafts was published in the second edition of *Vom geschichtlichen Sinn und vom Sinn der Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1940). Others are included in this present work (first edition, Leipzig, 1942), and the offering was enriched by a number of essays developed from them. This second edition contains an address on "Ranke und Burckhardt" ("*die beiden grössten historischen Denker, die das 19. Jahrhundert innerhalb der deutschen Kulturturnation hervorbracht hat*") with annexes on the concepts of "Kultur" and "Civilisation" with special reference to the differences of interpretation in Ranke and Burckhardt, and on the styles of these two historians. The aphorisms and essays reflect Meinecke's interest in ideas and in the problem of the historian as the "creative mirror" (*schaffender Spiegel*) of the past. Goethe, Ranke, and finally Burckhardt stand out as stimuli to his formulation of the problems that have fascinated and puzzled him, as he in turn stands out as a stimulus to so many of his contemporaries and disciples.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL, *University of Minnesota*

THE IDEA OF PROGRESS: A REVALUATION. By *Morris Ginsberg*. (Boston, Beacon Press, 1953, pp. vi, 80, \$1.75.) In this day of anxiety and crisis, it is far more fashionable to dismiss the idea of progress as a myth than to defend it. Against this dismissal Professor Ginsberg has set himself before but never in such compressed writing as in his present essay. In a text of but seventy-seven small pages, with admirable clarity, Professor Ginsberg discriminates among the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century formulations of the belief in progress and their limitations. He is fully aware of contemporary criticism of the doctrine, and with critics present and past he discovers "no general law of progress." But contrary to the critics he finds the idea both meaningful and evidence of its realization. Concerning its meaning, he writes: "My argument implies that equality and freedom are ideals which can be rationally defended and that progress consists in the movement towards them. It has nothing to do with either metaphysical or theological theories of the *telos* of history." Professor Ginsberg is clear that this view rests upon the possibility of a rational ethic and asserts that "the case for progress, as I understand it, stands or falls with this assumption." Evidence answering to this conception of progress is cited but cannot be examined within the limits of this review. This book is a remarkable example of compact analysis and deserves more attention than it will likely receive because of its unpretentious size. In the midst of the murky atmosphere of the prophets of unreason it is refreshing to find a clear, mature reaffirmation of a faith in reason.

HAROLD D. HANTZ, *University of Arkansas*

CHRISTIANITY, DIPLOMACY AND WAR. By *Herbert Butterfield*, Fellow of Peterhouse and Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. [The Beckly

Social Service Lecture.] (Nashville, Tenn., Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1953, pp. 125, \$1.75.) In this short volume the author presents a penetrating and forceful analysis that merits thoughtful rereading. It is hard medicine to take. He names and defines the three evils of our day as total warfare, universal revolution, and modern barbarism, all produced by the war of 1914, a war "for righteousness" that could "admit of no compromise." "The implications of the 'war for righteousness,'" he writes, "are that compromise becomes impossible, the original defensive object is superseded, the war becomes a war of unlimited ends, and—since there are only certain things than can be achieved by force—the root of the matter is: unlimited expropriation" (p. 30). He adds that "some day the 'war for righteousness' is bound to be the most sinister of all the tools of power" (p. 116). Turning to Christianity he declares that "the policy of referring back to the primary Christian truths may precipitate new things and prove to be a starting-point of historical change" (p. 3). "The Christian," he writes, "has principles . . . which come like a compassionate wing to cover the whole of this wilful and distracted human race" (p. 5). One need not despair for "given the required intensity and intentness, a comparatively few Christians could alter the course of history as powerfully as the communists have done" (p. 10). He believes that "it is hardly necessary to say that the recognition of all men as sinners is calculated to have momentous effects upon the whole world of human relations" (p. 42). The historian, as well as the Christian, speaks again when he writes: "What is required of us is that we should tame the lion, and steal a march on Power as we can, so that human reason encroaches on the jungle, if only inch by inch. . . . Steady conditions, historical continuity, and the healing effects of time—these are historical factors the force of which we greatly under-estimate when we try to play Providence for ourselves. It is through these that the process is encouraged by which power gives way to diplomacy, diplomacy in turn becomes more urbane, the diplomatic profession develops into an international society, and morality itself comes to have its place amongst the recognized conditions of the intercourse between states" (p. 76). These scattered quotations fail to do justice to this startling volume whose force may better be recognized in retrospect a hundred years from our own tormented time.

HUNTLEY DUPRE, *Macalester College*

THE PRESENT AS HISTORY: ESSAYS AND REVIEWS ON CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM. By *Paul M. Sweezy*. (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1953, pp. viii, 376, \$5.00.) A Marxist voice that cries out today in the United States is veritably a voice crying in the wilderness. Even when that voice is a persuasive and intelligent one, it has a strange sound and almost no echo. Its very isolation makes it awesome; while its condescending tone, derived, I suspect, from a conviction that it speaks from absolute truths, renders it mildly offensive. Few scholars I know would bring together the book reviews which they have written in the last twenty-five years and publish them in book form along with random articles. It is almost a professional rule not to serve up warmed over dishes, and by and large infractions of it are unfortunate. For my part, this present effort is no exception. Over the years Mr. Sweezy has commented on a great variety of topics in a great many different areas of human knowledge. He has lamented Toynbee's striving after a new City of God; he has digested recent German literature on imperialism; he has tried to put Professor Schumpeter on the right track; and he has broken lances with many of the world's leading economists, especially in the *Monthly Review*, which he edits. Throughout these endeavors he has at least been consistent. As he says in the last sentence of the last article in this collection: "I am advocating . . . that those of us who are convinced that in the long run socialism is the only possible answer politically, and by far the

best conceivable answer economically, should begin right now to explain *why*, to everyone we work with for the realization of more limited aims."

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH, *Columbia University*

SUGGESTIONS ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY. By *C. P. Hill*. [Towards World Understanding, No. 9.] (New York, Columbia University Press for UNESCO, 1953, pp. 117, 200 fr.)

HISTORY TEXTBOOKS AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING. By *J. A. Lauwerys*. [Towards World Understanding, No. 11.] (New York, Columbia University Press for UNESCO, 1953, pp. 84, 50 cents.) These modest booklets grew out of seminars held at Brussels in 1950 and Sevres in 1951. The motives behind them are commendable, and every friend of peace wishes that these studies, reflecting some commonly derived standards of objectivity and fair play, may help to promote the proclaimed objective of international understanding. Mr. Hill of the Bristol Grammar School has constructed a guide to teaching history. Chapters are devoted to objectives, content, methods, grading (according to chronological age), and the teacher. The use, for example, of local resources, models, visual aids, and field trips, is described with vigor and clarity. The author recommends the study of clothing, food, transportation, labor, tools, and other noncontroversial topics. In some ways this booklet is a disappointment. It assumes the desirability and feasibility of teaching history *per se*. It declares that "what ought to be taught can only be decided by the nature and aim of historical studies" (p. 107). This is equivalent to saying that the content of school history should be determined exclusively by historians. Such a surrender to specialized authority involves not only the probable negation of the objective of international understanding but also the rejection of more valid and more inclusive standards of selection. The surrender also obscures the desirability of considering the ability and maturity of students and the nature of the learning process. Even in the field of method it is difficult to discover in this account any idea, plan, or procedure which has not been repeatedly presented. One wonders if the internationalization of history teaching inevitably carries us back to the dark ages of memorizing and repeating content. In contrast with the static summary by Hill, the booklet by Lauwerys marks definite progress. It shows how bias affects the selection and omission of content and the making of generalizations and interpretations. It explains how nationalistic prejudices are nourished by such myths as "white" superiority and national uniqueness. Conventional patterns, customary pictures, slanted maps, and other perversions seem to accentuate national conceit and international misunderstanding. The author proposes discernible and attainable standards for writing unbiased, objective, and unoffending textbooks. Encouraging progress in history textbooks has been made by holding international seminars, by co-operative writing, and by the exchange of students and faculty. The author, reflecting group opinion, recommends stressing topical world history and minimizing nationalistic history.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, *Stanford University*

AN AMERICAN IN EUROPE: THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN THOMPSON, COUNT RUMFORD. By *Egon Larsen*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1953, pp. 224, \$4.75.) The transformation of an eighteenth-century country boy into one of the great scientists of the world, moving with ease and self-assurance among the nobility of Europe, is worth telling. Born Benjamin Thompson, in Massachusetts, 1753, the Revolution found him on the side of Britain, a secret agent, cultivating authority and winning gratifying rewards. An exile in England, he found employment in the Colonial Office and was knighted by King George III. Thompson offered his services

to the elector of Bavaria, who made him minister of war, minister of police, chamberlain of the court, and state councilor, as well as Count Rumford in the Holy Roman Empire. (The Rumford came from his home in Massachusetts.) Count Rumford's reform of the Bavarian Army and his efforts to rehabilitate the indigent brought him wide attention. Back in London after years of absence, he was the most active organizer of the Royal Institution; his own important scientific contributions related to the nature of heat. A restless investigator he had a broad range of interests which included studies in nutrition as well as the development of a more efficient stove than Englishmen then used. Larsen is at pains to emphasize the priority of Rumford's achievement in applying science for the advancement of humanity. But Rumford was only one of a long line of Americans and Europeans, the most famous of whom was Franklin, whose ideal was to benefit men through the application of scientific knowledge. Unfortunately the author of this sprightly, popular biography appears to have an elementary knowledge of the eighteenth century and seems to be unfamiliar with the precedents to Rumford's successful efforts to popularize knowledge and enlist science for practical ends. European scientists and humanitarians found in Rumford inspiring leadership. Himself scornful of democracy, but believing in cushioning the discontent of masses lest they explode, Rumford nonetheless was a benefactor of mankind. He deserves a more careful and learned biography than is supplied by the present work.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College, New York*

THE DECLINE OF NEUTRALITY, 1914-1941: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE NORTHERN NEUTRALS. By *Nils Ørvik*. (Oslo, Johan Grundt Tanum, 1953, pp. 294.) This is a thoughtful history of the practice of neutrality in the twentieth century, with emphasis on the policies of the United States and Norway. The period between the Renaissance and the French Revolution, the author believes, was the time when neutrality came nearest to being a feasible principle: states were largely self-sufficient, and there was a general belief internationally that treaties should be respected. By the end of the eighteenth century conditions had changed; states had become interdependent economically, and the decline of monarchy was producing a group of statesmen whose respect for international law varied with the opportunities for national gain. Although the century of peace from 1815 to 1914 allowed codification of a highly legalistic *Alice in Wonderland* neutrality, the exigencies of the First World War, and general international deference in the postwar period to the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact, made neutrality an obvious anachronism. The decline of security in the latter 1930's and the beginning of the Second World War momentarily raised up a pseudo-neutrality in Scandinavia, the Lowlands, and the United States, which was not concerned with maintaining nineteenth-century neutral rights and duties but only with staying out of war; this Ørvik rightfully denominates nonbelligerency (in the case of the United States it soon became undeclared war). Today, of course, no state, large or small, including even Switzerland, can put its trust in neutrality. The author of this readable study, a doctoral thesis at Wisconsin, is to be commended for his acute scholarship which never degenerates into arid legalism. If his work is open to criticism, it is that the focus, the United States and Norway, sometimes blurs, and the narrative not infrequently repeats itself. There are an unfortunately large number of typographical errors.

ROBERT H. FERRELL, *Indiana University*

PRELUDE TO WORLD WAR II. By *Gastano Salvemini*. (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1954, pp. 519, \$7.50.) The title of this book momentarily excited the hope that Professor Salvemini had made a careful study of the basic causes of World War II.

This hope was strengthened by the jacket blurb which proclaims the volume to be a "searching analysis of European relations between two wars." But a glance at the table of contents dissipated the hope. Although the volume is devoted to diplomatic history, its scope is restricted to the period of the Italo-Ethiopian war, with a prelude dealing with Mussolini's earlier foreign policy. At the time of the Duce's rise to power Salvemini was professor of history at the University of Florence. Fascism so outraged his feelings that he tendered his resignation in 1925, stating that "the Fascist dictatorship has suppressed in our country those conditions of liberty without which the teaching of history in the university loses all its independence and, therefore, its dignity." As an exile in England, France, and the United States he remained a persistent critic of Mussolini and his regime. In *The Fascist Dictator in Italy* (1927) he demolished the moral basis of Mussolini's power by showing that it rested solely on brute force. In *Under the Axe of Fascism* (1936) he deflated the claims of the Fascists that they had solved the problem of the relations between capital and labor. In the present volume Salvemini excoriates Mussolini the diplomatist. It is a tale of bluff and bluster, chicanery and deceit. Salvemini's conclusions are probably best summed up in his own words, "Mussolini acted as a gangster." He shows, for example, how Mussolini while trying to convince distinguished visitors that he was an ardent advocate of peace was privately ridiculing the peace efforts of the League and preparing for war against Ethiopia. But Salvemini also allocates a share of the blame to French and English diplomacy when he states that "Britain and France lacked the determination to enforce the Covenant of the League." He is especially critical of the diplomacy of the British Tories. Before leaving Italy in 1925 Professor Salvemini said, "I shall return to serve my country in the University when we have regained a government worthy of a civilized country." Recently, at the age of eighty, he left the United States to resume his work at the University of Florence. His legacy to us is this volume. Unfortunately it was written some years ago and was not revised before publication to include materials which have recently become available. We cannot, however, gainsay the fact that it contains the most searching analysis of Mussolini's diplomacy in English. Moreover, it throws much light on the general diplomatic muddle between the wars.

ROBERT ERGANG, *New York, N. Y.*

GESCHICHTE DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES IN DOKUMENTEN. Volume I, DER WEG ZUM KRIEGE, 1938-1939. [Weltgeschichte der Gegenwart in Dokumenten.] (Freiburg, Herder, 1953, pp. xii, 474, DM 28.) If the title of this work suggests a massing of primary materials on the whole gamut of prewar European diplomacy it is somewhat misleading. Professor Michael Freund, who occupies the chair of science and history at the University of Kiel, has neither produced a work of such scope nor did he intend to do so. What he has done is complement the texts of two hundred selected documents on German policies toward Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1938-1939 with an excellent commentary. First of a series of projected volumes dealing with the Second World War and its aftermath, it is noteworthy for its departure from German historiography's traditional concentration on events long past and interpretations long considered. This is contemporary history and in his foreword the author defends his choice of period more earnestly than would be necessary on this side of the North Sea. The Czecho-German crisis has been subjected to considerable scholarly investigation and this work mobilizes no new source materials on events between March, 1938, and March, 1939. Indeed, sixty per cent of all its documentary selections are from two published collections of the British and German foreign offices. The remainder are from twenty-two sources ranging somewhat unevenly from the *Ciano Diaries* to Moscow-published materials and, as the author

points out, required courageous selection. What Professor Freund does contribute toward understanding this period is a fresh organizational and analytical approach toward his materials. His topical arrangement facilitates understanding the relationship between the Reich's European diplomacy in general and its Polish policy in particular, on the one hand, and its Czechoslovakian program, on the other. His commentaries are penetrating and provocative in their analysis of why this was the crucial year for European peace, how the course of Berlin-Warsaw negotiations over the Corridor and Danzig influenced the decision to march on Prague, and how the western Powers' last diplomatic opportunity to stop Hitler hinged on their willingness to abandon Poland and gamble on Soviet expansionist ambitions. It is to be hoped that subsequent volumes will relieve readers of the necessity of searching through the calendar at the end to identify the documentary sources by including an abbreviated citation with each document.

KENT FORSTER, *Pennsylvania State University*

FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORLD REPUBLIC. By *G. A. Borgese*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. xi, 328, \$6.50.) Professor Robert Redfield, anthropologist, begins his introduction to this book with the following paragraph: "The reader will find in this strange and wonderful book a creation, wide-arched and soaring, of idea and form. A mind of power and passion has built here a new kind of structure of thought and words about old, tremendous questions. Here problems of political action are expressed and resolved in metaphysical speculation, and both are lifted on the wings of poetry." Actually the book is an apologia for the Chicago group of proponents of world government. Despite some references to Indian metaphysics, it is European-centered. Its metaphysics is Aristotelian. Its motivation is Christian. Its logic is dialectical. Its style is romantic. Its conclusion is pessimistic: perhaps five hundred or a thousand years must pass before world government can be achieved, but let the seed be planted now. Hence the drawing up of the "Preliminary Draft of a World Constitution," which forms the appendix of the book. The national state is dead. The "elite" have repudiated it. The "masses" distrust it sullenly. The middle classes—"guardians of ditches and fences"—alone beat, furiously, its cymbals and drums. Technology has created a "one world" of space. There must be a "one world" of power, feudal, that is, hierarchical in structure, but unfeudal because power must flow upward not downward. The world community, although inchoate, exists; all war is now "civil war" and as such must be reckoned as crime. The *one* revolution—the Christian—which sought and still strives to refine justice with charity must be completed. The welfare state is inevitable. The "myth"—"idea force"—is the essential dynamic of history: the "Preamble to the Preliminary Draft" of the World Constitution sets the law of the future—"in nuclear syntax"—irreplaceably. Of the great concerns, such as "Orient vs. Occident," the "Decline of the West," and the "Totalitarian-Democratic rift," which stir contemporary "philosopher-historians," or "historian-philosophers" or "scientist-philosopher-historians," the author fails only to dispose of "the population problem." Malthus does not tread the path that leads by way of "creative togetherness" from "tribalhood to universal otherhood." A lady, when viewing a sunset by the British artist, Turner, once remarked, "I have never seen a sunset like that." The artist, it is said, replied, "Don't you wish you could."

RALPH E. TURNER, *Yale University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

EN MARGE DE L'HISTOIRE UNIVERSELLE. By Henri Berr, Directeur du Centre international de synthèse. [L'évolution de l'humanité, Synthèse collective.] (Paris, Editions Albin Michel, 1953, pp. x, 265, 690 fr.) "L'évolution de l'humanité," under Henri Berr's direction, has been planned in about 100 volumes; those devoted to antiquity (approximately a third of the list), as well as some others, have already been published. These books present a tremendous canvas, of course; and Berr, with

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

his two *En marge* volumes, has undertaken to provide the French layman with a guide, so to speak, to one division of world history. His first volume dealt with historical origins and early civilizations, including Greece. The present one has as its subtitle: *Rome et la civilisation romaine; l'économie antique; Celtique, Germanie et monde romain; en marge de l'Empire: Iran, Chine et Inde; pensée orientale et science occidentale*. With his wide knowledge, pleasant style, and ability to catch the essential meanings of things, Berr has achieved very considerable success. His method is to take books in the large series and use them as points of departure for the informative essays that comprise his various chapters and subdivisions. More than half the book deals with the Roman West, and here it is government, law, and urbanization that particularly attract Berr. On the other hand, his relatively detailed summary of the Celtic world may chiefly interest readers of this *Review*. Synthesis, so far as it exists at all, is achieved in the Roman section by parallels and indications of indebtedness—fairly obvious ones, on the whole—to Greece and the ancient Near East. When it comes to the Far East, however, universal history recedes into the background, except, of course, that the horizon has been widened. There is no synthesis of significance, only separate accounts, where the lack of unity is further emphasized by the apparent necessity of going back into early origins. The topics discussed throughout the book constitute a rather arbitrary selection, the interpretations tend to be highly subjective, and brevity predominates. A dozen pages suffice for the chapter on Iranian civilization, six for Brahmanism and Buddhism. Nevertheless, we become aware of the difference between the “reflective East” and the “scientific West,” we gain an admiration for the “Roman miracle,” and we are sobered, too, by the lag between man’s intellectual achievement and his actual social progress. A reader who follows up the continuous references to the books in the large series will get a first-rate education very pleasantly. Taken by itself, Berr’s volume is an enthusiastic and scholarly suggestion of the varied pattern and stimulating challenge of antiquity.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR., *Brown University*

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Medieval History

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ADVOCATES OF REFORM: FROM WYCLIF TO ERASMUS. Edited by Matthew Spinka, Waldo Professor of Church History, the Hartford Theological Seminary,

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Hartford, Connecticut. [The Library of Christian Classics, Volume XIV.] (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1953, pp. 399, \$5.00.) "The Library of Christian Classics" is the title of a series which undertakes to provide in twenty-six volumes "the most indispensable Christian treatises written prior to the end of the sixteenth century." Such an enterprise at once raises the question whether in the case of a voluminous and many-sided author it is better to make an illustrative compendium culled from his total production or to present treatises in their entirety. The method here adopted is a compromise. Works of moderate length have been selected and translated with judicious excisions. The complete translations have been deposited in manuscript in the library of the Hartford Theological Seminary. This volume includes examples from Wyclif, the Conciliarists, Hus, and Erasmus. The editor, Professor Matthew Spinka, has written the brief and admirable introductions. Wyclif and Erasmus were translated by Ford Lewis Battles, the Conciliarists by James Kerr Cameron, and Hus by the editor. The two works of Wyclif selected are *On the Pastoral Office*, in which his zeal for moral reform is exhibited, and *On the Eucharist*, which explains the grounds for his rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation. From among the Conciliarists two Germans were chosen, Henry of Langenstein and Dietrich of Niehm, one Frenchman, John Gerson, and a Scot resident in Paris, John Major. D'Ailly was omitted because his views, though influential, were largely borrowed. The tract chosen for Hus is the treatise *On Simony* rather than the *De Ecclesia* because this already is available in English, whereas the work on simony has hitherto been accessible only in Czech. The editor, who is thoroughly at home in the period and for whom Czech is the mother tongue, is able to supply not only an excellent translation but an orientation in the contemporary literature. The example from Erasmus is the *Enchiridion*. The *De servo arbitrio* will appear in a later volume. One may regret that the *Ratio theologiae* was not chosen, but on the whole the *Enchiridion* may well be the most representative example. The entire volume throughout exhibits fine craftsmanship and, although excisions occasioned a pang to those who had laboriously translated the entire works, the reader rejoices in their fortitude.

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF LUCREZIA BORGIA. By *Maria Bellonci*. Translated by *Bernard and Barbara Wall*. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1953, pp. 343, \$5.00.) The lurid reputation of Lucrezia Borgia has long since been laid to rest, and she is now known to have been a rather colorless and passive individual whose historical interest is to be found chiefly in the extraordinary environment in which she lived. A full-length biography of her will therefore deal with her surroundings in some detail, and the nature of the book will depend largely on those aspects of her surroundings which the author chooses to emphasize. This book—which is an abridged translation of a work which first appeared in Italy in 1939—stresses personal relationships, especially the marital and extramarital relationships of the men and women who come into the story. Nobody would deny the abundance of available material for this subject. In my opinion, Signora Bellonci has made far too much of this material, from the standpoint of good history and even of good reading. Along with this there goes a great deal of psychological analysis, frequently based on conjecture. The special emphasis of this book seems to be related to a strong conviction on the author's part of the importance of women in history. For example, on the basis of statements made in various places, the origins of the French invasion of Italy in 1494 could be described in distinctly feminist terms. The story would go somewhat as follows: Beatrice d'Este, wife of Ludovico the Moor, was jealous of the wife of the young duke of Milan. Consequently she urged Ludovico to invite the French into Italy (p. 25). Charles VIII insisted on

making the invasion; "even the beautiful queen, Anne of Brittany, had failed to deflect the King from his purpose" (p. 61). Eleanora of Aragon, mother of Beatrice, had been able to persuade her daughter to temper the ambitions of Ludovico. (This is on page 174; Beatrice seems to have changed since page 25.) Therefore Eleanora's death in 1493 was a national misfortune. Beatrice died in 1497, "and the political situation deteriorated" (p. 174). The book seems to be based on solid research, including the study of unpublished material in Italian archives. The interests of the author are so narrowly personal, however, that only a very sketchy and inadequate account is given of the political situation in Italy at that crucial period. The reader who wishes to learn about Lucrezia Borgia should turn to the older biography by Gregorovius. It should be added that this translation omits perhaps a third or more of the Italian text and completely eliminates the notes, of which there are twenty-five pages in the original, and a section of about thirty pages containing selections from contemporary documents.

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson¹

HISTORY OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER. Volume I, 1265-1603. By Robert Somerville, Clerk of the Council and Keeper of the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster. (London, Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1953, pp. xxv, 702, £3:10s.) No student of English history can have failed to wonder a bit about that peculiar institution, the Duchy of Lancaster. In order to provide a scholarly account of its antiquities, the Duchy itself now publishes this first of two volumes by the clerk of its council, and Mr. Somerville proves himself a worthy follower of the tradition of historical research among English civil servants. He has divided the volume into two nearly equal parts of historical text and lists of officers. These last alone make the book of great value for future researchers in the administrative history of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Of the text, the first eight chapters treat the formation of the Duchy as the patrimony of the house of Lancaster from Edmund Crouchback through Henry of Bolingbroke. The other half of the text describes its vicissitudes and development as a royal institution. Mr. Somerville explains how the Duchy has been preserved as a separate inheritance of the monarchs, though the title has generally

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

been merged in the crown, and he describes the relationship of the county palatine to the larger Duchy. In this volume he has not yet explained *why* the Duchy has survived, though he seems to suggest that it was because of superior administration, and the second volume is intended to include a fuller discussion of the administration. The author's eyes rarely stray from the Duchy as a legal and constitutional entity. One seldom feels that he is reading about a European principality—not even when John of Gaunt was duke. For the most part also the chapters follow each other chronologically reign by reign, and the reader has to pick up the broken threads of the story chapter by chapter. Again, Mr. Somerville appears desirous of encouraging the use of the Duchy records, and he allows something of the archivist to creep into his account. This has the advantage of making his book valuable as an introduction to the records, but the space given to some incidents seems to be determined rather by available material than by historical significance. Readers will not find all parts of the book of equal interest, then, but there is something here for every student of these three centuries of English history. Mr. Somerville's slips are very few; there is a full, though not complete, index; the book is handsomely produced and sumptuously illustrated by fifteen plates and a colored frontispiece which reproduces the Lancastrian arms from the magnificent medieval Great Cowchairs of the Duchy.

FRED A. CAZEL, JR., *University of Connecticut*

THE LETTERS OF JAMES THE FOURTH, 1505-1513. Calendars by *Robert Kerr Hannay*, H. M. Historiographer in Scotland. Edited with a Biographical Memoir and an Introduction by *R. L. Mackie*, Assisted by *Anne Spilman*. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, Volume XLV.] (Edinburgh, T. and A. Constable for the Society, 1953, pp. lxxii, 338, 8.) This calendar of the later correspondence of James IV was the last scholarly task undertaken by the late Professor Hannay before his death in 1940. He left the work unfinished, and in the fullness of time R. L. Mackie completed the calendar and supplied the volume with a solid and lucid introduction. This introduction deals almost entirely with foreign affairs, as is proper, since the great majority of the letters have to do with this subject: with Scotland's dealings with Denmark, then engaged in the attempt to suppress the Swedish rebellion, and, above all, with Scotland's relations with England and France. James's difficulty was that he was the sworn ally of both countries; he and his chief diplomatic agent, Andrew Forman, did their ineffectual best to prevent trouble from developing between them, and also—very ambitiously—to bring about a general pacification in Europe so that James might sail on the crusade which was so near to his heart. Scotland, however, counted for little in the councils of Europe, and James was caught up in a set of circumstances completely beyond his power to control. When the war between England and France finally came, James chose to remain faithful to the auld alliance. Flodden was the result. The present work is helpful in elucidating the Scottish role in these transactions, but this reviewer shares Mr. Mackie's implied regret that Professor Hannay did not undertake the more difficult but far more useful task, for which he was admirably equipped, of preparing a complete text and translation of James's letters, many of which are unpublished. This ought to be done, and then perhaps it will be possible to have the badly needed full-length biography of this king, whose reign is in many ways the watershed between medieval and modern times in Scottish history.

MAURICE LEE, JR., *Princeton University*

STEPHEN VAUGHAN, FINANCIAL AGENT OF HENRY VIII: A STUDY OF FINANCIAL RELATIONS WITH THE LOW COUNTRIES. By *W. C. Richardson*. [Louisiana State University Studies, Number 3.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State

University Press, 1953, pp. viii, 102, \$1.50.) While Professor Richardson was going through the archival material for his study of Tudor chamber administration (reviewed in this journal in July, 1953) he came upon the trail of Stephen Vaughan, financial agent of Henry VIII in Antwerp from 1544 to 1547. This essay is a by-product of the larger work. Stephen Vaughan was a member, and eventually governor, of the Merchant Adventurers Company who entered Cromwell's service as a minor diplomatic agent in 1530. His first important mission was an effort to persuade Tyndale to return to the true faith, to give up his Lutheran views, and to come back to England. Sometime after this Vaughan was a member of one of the embassies whose ultimate objective was an alliance between England and the Lutheran princes of Germany. Later he visited Denmark, acted as diplomatic agent at Brussels, and conducted the negotiations for a marriage between Henry VIII and the duchess of Milan. His real importance, however, begins with the year 1544, when in the face of the unprecedented need for money for the French war he began to try to borrow from the Low Countries bankers such as the Schetz, the Fuggers, and the Hallers. Although he did succeed in getting something like £272,000 in loans from the shrewd Continental bankers with the assistance of a first-class rogue named Jasper Dowche or Ducci, he seems to have been grandly taken by them. Of the total amount which he borrowed, 40,000 crowns took the form of jewels paid for at outlandish prices, 30,000 pounds Flemish was in fustians which then had to be sold for whatever they would fetch, and 27,000 pounds was in letters of credit from Italian houses in London which, of course, were subject to heavy discounts. Moreover the loans were for short terms, subject to premiums for renewal, and carried very high rates of interest. Historically, Vaughan's operations in Antwerp were significant only because he had established English credit in the Low Countries and by his dealings with the European bankers paved the way for extended foreign loans in later years. He began that chain of borrowings which was not terminated until Thomas Gresham paid off the last remaining bonds in 1572. This small volume has a special interest because it represents an attempt on the part of the Louisiana State University Press to reproduce typescript copy in some form of offprint at a low cost. The text is readable, and the process might well be followed by other publishers in bringing out similar studies without too much investment.

F. C. DIETZ, *University of Illinois*

THE MUSCOVY MERCHANTS OF 1555. By *T. S. Willan*, Reader in History in the University of Manchester. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1953, pp. viii, 141, 16s.) Occupation with economic history and the trends within this field which have developed recently mark an important departure from the traditional approach. Just as in the nineteenth century prevailing habits in political history with their romantic or dogmatic attitudes were replaced by sober, analytical methods, so the twentieth century has brought similar changes for economic history. A tradition is being built which envisages the discovery, evaluation, and publication of new and meaningful sources helpful in explaining economic forces "*wie [sie] eigentlich gewesen.*" Attention is thereby focused on men, methods, and account books rather than on general propositions, definitions, and economic dogmas. Willan's book on the Muscovy merchants constitutes economic history writing of this type. Like many others, it does not make for lively reading, but it does present useful information. Willan investigates separately the life history of the two hundred charter members of the Muscovy Company; he describes their local background, their general business activities, their participation in other ventures—banking, foreign trade (Guinea), mining, farming—and occasionally their profits, losses, and financial standing as shown by last wills and other sources. By describing their style of life, whether they belonged

to the nobility, merchant class, or *rentier* group, their participation in civil and political affairs, and their relationships among each other as well as with court and parliament, the author illustrates interconnections of the political and economic scenes. He also draws sociological conclusions and discusses the continuation by the second generation of the successful merchants' wealth, work, and social relationships. Unfortunately, the fire of 1666 destroyed the records of the Muscovy Company; therefore, Willan's book cannot answer any better than others our numerous questions about the transactions of the Muscovy Company and the relations of Russia and England. But though we must avoid generalizing, it does succeed in giving a picture of the merchant society of sixteenth-century England, its concrete business affairs, and its sociological structure. These aspects constitute a necessary and solid contribution.

WALTHER KIRCHNER, *University of Delaware*

CAMDEN MISCELLANY. Volume XX. A BRIEF COLLECTION OF THE QUEENES MAJESTIES MOST HIGH AND MOST HONOURABLE COURTES OF RECORDES. By *Richard Robinson*. Edited by *R. L. Rickard*, Assistant Librarian, New College, Oxford. THE HASTINGS JOURNAL OF THE PARLIAMENT OF 1621. Edited by *Lady de Villiers*, Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford. THE MINUTE BOOK OF JAMES COURTHOPE. Edited by *Orlo Cyprian Williams*. [Camden Third Series, Volume LXXXIII.] (London, Royal Historical Society, pp. vi, 36; xi, 46; xv, 91, 1953.) The present collection comprises materials dating from the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth to the reign of William III. The first document, MS. no. 325, at New College, Oxford, is an extension of Alexander Fisher's "Description of the Courts of Justice in England" (P.R.O. State Papers Domestic Eliz. CX, no. 19), chiefly interesting for its identification of Elizabethan court officers and for its confirmation of existing knowledge such as the association of the Court of Chancery with cases of equity (p. 14). It establishes also that the hearing of poor men's causes had apparently shifted since Wolsey's time from Chancery to Requests, although both had become known as courts of conscience (p. 24). Inasmuch as Robinson dedicates his work to Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, it is not surprising that he should trace the origin of the title Star Chamber, not to its many windows or to its roof decorated with stars, but to "the Lords of the Nobyltye according to their Callinge," who in this court "do shine forth by their Vertues of pietye, wisdom and good Justice" (p. 21). Bodleian MS. Carte 77, printed as the second of the documents in the miscellany, makes available that portion of the Hastings papers not in the Huntington Library in California. It represents the notes of Henry, fifth earl of Huntingdon, on the proceedings in the House of Lords from the prorogation of parliament on January 23 to February 17, 1621, and occasionally thereafter through May 29, 1622. Its special value is its supplementing of the Lords' *Journals*. The king's private speech of March 10 to the upper house occasioned by the threatened impeachment of Buckingham, Bacon, and Mandeville, hitherto unreported, is an important document in the history of the royal prerogative and the lords' prerogative. The third document reprinted in the miscellany is MS. Rawlinson A.86, the minute book of James Courthope, committee clerk during two sessions of Commons, December, 1697-July, 1698, and December, 1698-May, 1699. It supplements Volume XII of the *Journals* of the House of Commons and reports the action of a number of select committees not available in the *Journals*.

W. GORDON ZEEVELD, *University of Maryland*

BRITISH COLONIAL DEVELOPMENTS, 1774-1834: SELECT DOCUMENTS. By *Vincent Harlow* and *Frederick Madden*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953,

pp. xxi, 619, \$7.00.) This work is a selection of documents chosen to illustrate various aspects of British colonial history, 1774-1834. The editors, Vincent Harlow and Frederick Madden, did not intend the work as a documentary history. Their aim was more modest: to make available to students little-known documents which are significant to an understanding of that field of history. They confined themselves to traditional topics: imperial expansion, constitutional change, trade within the old colonial system, emigration, slavery, the treatment of aborigines. Traditionally also, the editors excluded India from anything but occasional consideration. The documents for the most part have been judiciously selected and edited. The errors are few. On page 6, the editors apparently did not check the signature "Lou. Sullivan," which they would have found an unlikely abbreviation for the East India Company director Laurence Sullivan. Nevertheless, especially for students, the work has some faults. Though the editors generally identify in footnotes the persons and events alluded to in the documents, such footnotes do not always give enough information about each group of documents. For example, the documents dealing with the vicissitudes of Selkirk and the Red River Settlement and the actions of the home government and the fur trading companies remain obscure, though the subject appears interesting. Secondly, the editors have had difficulty treating certain topics within the chronological framework, 1774-1834. Slavery was successfully handled in that framework, for its abolition in 1833 was a convenient termination; but constitutional developments do not fit the framework. The editors perhaps should have written concise introductions to each topic, and by including background material and explanatory information and by suggesting subsequent trends, put the documents into better historical perspective. The whole work would have gained in coherence. Despite such deficiencies, however, the collection is an exceedingly worth-while one, a handy book of sources for both student and scholar.

GEORGE D. BEARCE, JR., *Kalamazoo College*

ENGLISH RADICALISM, 1886-1914. By S. Maccoby. (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. 540, \$9.50.) This volume is a sequel to two earlier studies on English Radicalism. The first one (1832-1852) was published in 1935 and reviewed in the *American Historical Review* in January, 1938; the second one (1853-1886) appeared in 1938 and was reviewed in January, 1940. The present study has the virtues and the limitations of the earlier volumes. It is a storehouse of facts, based primarily on Dr. Maccoby's own diggings. In his view a radical is a member of any group of men organized to change the old society so cherished by the duke of Wellington and other leaders of the post-Napoleonic years. Naturally, in the years of revolutions in industry, agriculture, land and sea transportation, and mass migrations at home and to new lands, there was every kind of radical. Each disharmony at home and abroad caught the attention of some men, ready with remedies. However such a variety of radicals is difficult, if not impossible, to classify and to present to the reader. Dr. Maccoby opens his account with chapters on the Irish home rule controversy in 1886. Home rule had become practical politics because during the preceding half century the population weight of Ireland as against that of Britain was being reduced from one to two to the present one (4,000,000) to twelve (49,000,000). From the high of 1841 (8,175,124) to that of 1881 (5,174,836), the loss was 3,000,000. With the hostile Irish scattered over the face of the earth, especially in the United States, it had become sound policy to champion home rule. Dr. Maccoby brings up many controversial questions as germane to his study. The Boer War is another example which ends with a concession of Dominion home rule. This needless war has been covered many times. The leaders of the pro-Boer forces were Liberals—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Lloyd George, John Morley, James Bryce, hardly radicals unless any man

in opposition is a radical. The many faceted march of the radicals calls for a master of narrative, for a stylist. But Dr. Maccoby is not a stylist. Therefore this volume like its two predecessors remains a source book of materials, valuable indeed, but primarily for scholars eager to find the new facts and ideas he presents. This limitation is regrettable as the author's researches are wide. Nevertheless, scholars will profit from his three volumes covering the decades from 1832 to 1914.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG, *University of California, Los Angeles*

THE PARTY SYSTEM IN GREAT BRITAIN. By *Ivor Bulmer-Thomas*, Formerly M.P. for Keighley and Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. (London, Phoenix House; New York, Macmillan, 1953, pp. vii, 328, \$5.00.) The scholar in politics is not unusual in Britain, and this book is further evidence that the combination is a happy one. Mr. Bulmer-Thomas sets for himself a definite and restricted objective: explaining the workings of the British party system. This he does, and in good measure. Much attention is devoted to topical questions: party organization, the place of the party leader in determining candidates, the relations between the M.P. and his constituency organization. Other sections cover party relations with the press and with religion, with bodies on the fringe of the parties, with local government. Even if the reader already has general knowledge of these subjects he will be glad to find them developed in rich detail by one who has first-hand, inside knowledge of both the major British parties. As the author well says, "The British party system cannot be understood simply as a piece of elaborate machinery skillfully designed to ensure good government by the consent of the governed. The spirit in which it is worked cannot be expressed in written constitutions and rules of procedure. It can be studied only by a close acquaintance with those who are themselves engaged in the struggle. It may often be witnessed on the floor of the House of Commons by a discerning visitor; but it is seen at its best in a room in the Palace of Westminster where no outsider may ever tread." Mr. Bulmer-Thomas clearly violates no confidences; but he does give the reader the benefit of his intelligence, his experience, and his insight. In the preface, the author says he regards this as a first attempt to fill the most conspicuous gap in the literature of British politics. One might hope that in future he will deal more fully with the eclipse of the Liberal party, the relation of the class system (or should one speak now of the continuing class attitude?) and party action, and the enduring effects of Labour's nationalization and welfare programs on the policies of both major parties.

RALPH G. JONES, *University of Arkansas*

OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE CANADIAN MEDICAL SERVICES, 1939-1945. Volume II, CLINICAL SUBJECTS. Edited by *W. R. Feasby*, M.D., Lieutenant-Colonel, R.C.A.M.C., Supplementary Reserve, Lecturer in Physiology, University of Toronto. (Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, 1953, pp. xv, 537, \$5.00.) "In this volume," states the editor, "an attempt has been made to describe the part played by Canadian Medicine during the Second World War, 1939-1945." Canadian soldiers, sailors, and airmen were active on every front of the global conflict, and wherever they were, there also were units of the Canadian medical services. To describe medical advances made, and to record lessons learned, two volumes of medical history were authorized. The first volume is concerned with administrative matters, the second, here reviewed, with clinical subjects. Prepared by contributors from the three medical services of the land, sea, and air forces, the various accounts have been skillfully edited into a unified whole. A detailed analysis of this book is not possible in the space available. Suffice it therefore to indicate that the text reflects advances in surgery made possible by the use of antibiotics and new forms of anesthesia; the saving of life resulting from the

liberal use of transfused blood, blood fractions, and blood substitutes; and early treatment and evacuation of the sick and wounded. An important section of the book is devoted to research on problems evoked by new weapons and new tactics of warfare. Thus the tremendous increase in airplane speeds and operational heights gave special emphasis to problems of high altitude physiology. The use of unprecedented numbers of armored vehicles and the deployment of men in tropic and arctic climates posed additional problems requiring novel medical, surgical, and logistic solutions. As one of a series of similar histories now being issued by the Allied Powers, this book takes its place as an indispensable work on the reference shelves of both medical and military historians.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND, *Washington, D. C.*

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke¹

WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND THE ENGLISH OPPOSITION, 1672-4. By K. H. D. Haley, Lecturer in History in the University of Sheffield. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. 231, \$5.00.) As the title of his book suggests, Mr. Haley is concerned with presenting an intimate history of a brief period, with attention focused on the eighteen months between Peter Du Moulins' removal from England to Holland in the summer of 1672 and the signing of the Treaty of Westminster in February, 1674. Even within the limits of this short time span the author's declared interest is the secret intrigues designed to detach England from France to the obvious advantage of Holland. The main currents of the period are well known—treaties of Dover and Westminster, a laggard war, parliamentary sessions marked by telling maneuver and debate, and ministerial cabals. The main cast of characters is also familiar—kings and princes of the blood, ambassadors English, Dutch, and Spanish, parliamentary leaders and members of the Cabal, Fagel, Danby, and such disparate characters as "Madam Carwell" and Mary of Modena. But scrutiny of new materials in the Rijksarchief at the Hague and a re-examination of those available elsewhere enables Mr. Haley to add vital details and present new characters, influential even in their obscurity as they wove a web of intrigue. Peter Du Moulins is chief among them. English subject of Huguenot origin he became secretary to the Stadtholder and a main source of intelligence and inspiration both to him and to his Grand Pensionary. Du Moulins' early memorials to his Dutch employers pointed unerringly to parliament as the point where opposition to the French policy of Charles II might most profitably be developed, while his later compositions, notably "England's Appeal" (March, 1673) and the letter of the Dutch Estates to Charles II (December, 1673), advanced the telling arguments that the Anglo-French alliance made England "tributary to the French" and that Louis XIV's war on Holland was a "war of religion." Such views the author rightly stresses since they so clearly formulated major issues of the period 1672-1689. The account of Du Moulins' work and that of lesser agents in Dutch employ, and of the counter efforts of English authorities is both lively and informing, yet one is tempted to suggest that effects are lessened when excellent quick analyses are followed by rather repetitious quotations. But the plot is well developed and it gains in respect for its validity because of the author's scrupulous handling of difficult materials. Suspicions are never allowed to gain the standing of facts, and even in marking out Du Moulins as the author of "England's Appeal" Mr. Haley is quick to observe that others may well have assisted in its redaction. William of Orange's connections with Du Moulins are clearly stated to be based on good inferences rather than on precise evidence, while the case made for the influence of the Dutch "Fifth Column" and propaganda activities on parliamentary action is made to rest on effective argument alone, for while the time of a pamphlet's appearance may be exactly dated, and a sound estimate made of the number of copies circulated, who can ever determine the extent of its influence on the minds of M.P.'s? For his seeking out new materials and their honest and skillful combination with evidence already known (see p. 171 and note 1 as an example) the close student of the Restoration is in Mr. Haley's debt.

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LA RÉVOLUTION LIÉGEOISE DE 1789. By Paul Harsin, Professeur à l'Université de Liège. [Collection "Notre Passé."] (Brussels, La Renaissance du Livre, 1954, pp. 194.) This slender volume by a historian who has contributed solidly to the history of capitalism in France and the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has behind it also many years of study in various aspects of the history of a political unit, the ecclesiastical principality of Liège. The hitherto existing works of importance that are devoted exclusively to the revolution of Liège in 1789 date from the nineteenth century and are very detailed. Professor Harsin's purpose in the present work is essentially to condense their accounts and bring them abreast of current scholarship. He starts with a brief exposition of the causes of this revolution—social, intellectual, and political. Then he settles down to the business of a narrative that extends from 1785 to 1795 but concentrates on the period from 1789 to 1791, from the first uprising to the restoration of the authority of the prince-bishop under the auspices of the emperor. The account follows the internal history of the revolution and the diplomatic negotiations of its leaders with Prussia, Austria, and the various bodies representing the authority of the empire, it indicates the contacts that occurred between the revolutionaries of Liège and those of Brussels and of France, and finally it deals in relatively summary fashion with the several regimes of occupation up to the definitive French annexation of 1795. Throughout, this reviewer found it often difficult to discern the wood for the trees. The work has at times the quality of a day-by-day chronicle. It lacks movement, emphasis, as much in the realm of ideas as in that of action. The revolution of Liège was indeed a complex phenomenon, and the reservation of judgment is an excellent thing, but the author seems to have a rather excessive hesitancy to interpret his material. For an introduction to the subject one would still do better therefore first to read the masterly chapters on the revolutions of Brabant and Liège in Henri Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique*, chapters to which Professor Harsin himself pays high tribute. The reviewer has no reservations, however, in recommending Harsin's invaluable bibliographical essay which extends over twelve pages of fine print. For the lack of footnotes the general plan of the Collection "Notre Passé" is doubtless responsible.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner¹

FRIEDRICH DER GROSSE: EIN HISTORISCHES PROFIL. By Gerhard Ritter. (Rev. ed.; Heidelberg, Quelle and Meyer, 1954, pp. 262, DM 12.00.) The new edition of this fluent, compact, and readable "historical profile" of the great Prussian monarch by the biographer of Stein is an unaltered reprint of the original version of 1936. However a new and significant chapter entitled "Frederick and Ourselves" has been appended. No doubt, when Ritter first published his essay, he conceived it to be a mild revision of the Koser-Schmoller traditional Prussian historiography on Frederick. Its scholarly tone and critical temper were also designed to be a sharp repudiation of the inebriated glorification of Frederick by the frenzied nationalists of the Nazi era under which it was published. Being a reputable scholar, though no specialist on the age of Frederick, the author aimed at a critical re-examination, sober objectivity, and balanced judgment. It would be both ungracious and inaccurate to say that he failed, although his essay lacked something of the astringent and forthright quality of Arnold Berney's study which had been published two years before. Now, after seventeen years, he has republished his essay in its original form because, so he informs us, the critical literature which has appeared in the interval only served to confirm the essential validity of his original reading. On the surface, this amounts to a repudiation of the postwar clamor from French, British, and American scholars for the necessity of a revisionist approach to Prussian history. Actually, both the altered perspective of 1954 and the plainly perceptible shift of emphasis in the new final chapter of the book add up to a substantial revision which would seem to require corresponding changes in the original study. Here the author's robust confidence in the final wisdom of the course on which Frederick the Great embarked falters and becomes uncertain. Here,

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

too, he emphasizes things which Prussian historians tended to minimize or ignore, the grinding fiscalism and exaggerated militarism of Frederick's domestic policy, the blighting effects and perils of the old Prussianism with its barbarous "*Kommissgeist*" and "*Ordre Parieren*," and the reaction of his treaty breaches and violent conquests upon his European environment. Ritter's discussion of Frederick's political ethics, while it follows roughly the reasoning of Meinecke's *Staatsräson*, abandons the latter's purely dialectic analysis. Although Ritter does not defend the "immorality" of the conquest of Silesia and West Prussia, he still accepts these conquests as being "historically justified," first because of Frederick's limited objectives which were not incompatible with the right of other states to an existence of their own and because, being a responsible statesman, he pursued his conquests not for the sake of *Machtpolitik* alone but sought to improve the lot of his conquered subjects. Yet, he who has read the penetrating studies of Johannes Ziekursch on the decline of Silesian cities under Frederick and on Silesian agricultural history, never very popular in Prussia, will scarcely contend that Frederick contributed to the happiness of his conquered subjects. Briefly, although this reviewer still cannot identify himself with all the positions of this new edition, Ritter's courageous decision to tap crucial problems of Prussian history realistically and reflectively should be greeted with applause.

WALTER L. DORN, *Ohio State University*

SCHICKSALSJAHRE ÖSTERREICH, 1908-1919: DAS POLITISCHE TAGEBUCH JOSEF REDLICH'S. Volume I, 1908-1914. Edited by *Fritz Fellner*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 39.] (Graz, Hermann Böhlau, 1953, pp. xix, 295, cloth \$4.80, paper \$4.40.) Josef Redlich, the Austrian historian and political scientist of international reputation, is better known as a scholar than as a parliamentarian and a man of public life. And yet works like the monumental *Österreichisches Reichsproblem*, the standard biography of Emperor Francis Joseph and the universally recognized studies on English local administration and parliamentarism present only one side of his brilliantly gifted nature. Redlich was instilled with the burning and justified ambition to play a prominent role in Austrian political life. A keen intellect, ability as a parliamentary orator and negotiator, expert knowledge in general administrative and financial matters, and many social graces qualified him to hold a position as a leading statesman. It was one of the imponderables of imperial twentieth-century Austria that a man of Redlich's unorthodox intellectual position and background could not make the grade of an Austrian cabinet membership prior to the last days of October, 1918. Austrian aristocracy enjoyed the conversation of the brilliant party guest, the foreign ministers Aehrenthal and Berchtold took council with the penetrating mind, the prime ministers Gautsch, Körber, Hohenlohe, Stürgkh, and many others on commanding posts asked for the great expert's advice and often did not heed it. Yet a wall as insurmountable as invisible blocked the decisive steps of his career. The tragedy of Redlich's life derives, however, as much from the complexities of his own nature as from external conditions. Steadfast in his loyalty as an Austrian patriot, he was a split personality in many other ways. Parliamentary member of the German Nationalverband, Redlich realized the sterility of the Belange politics of that unwieldy association. Liberal in background and long-range outlook, he rejected the pseudo-liberal journalistic and business activities in prewar Vienna. Doubting the vitality of Austrian parliamentary democracy, he could not accommodate himself to the sterility of the philosophy of bureaucratic absolutism. Such internal frustration as well as external despair regarding the future of the monarchy leads to that otherwise incomprehensible "Hurrah" with which Redlich greeted the news of the break of diplomatic relations with Serbia in July, 1914. Soon, though, he realized

the inevitably tragic outcome of war, that worst alternative for Austria, in whose further destiny he was to play a futile Cassandra-like role. For these problems the student will find in this first volume of the diaries, admirably edited and annotated by Fritz Fellner, a primary source, drawn with incisiveness, emotional depth, and genuine local color. Parts of the work, above all the discussions with Aehrenthal and Hoyos, Berchtold's chief of cabinet, are of first-rate value as sources to pre-World War I diplomatic history.

ROBERT A. KANN, *Rutgers University*

STRESEMAN AND THE REVISION OF VERSAILLES: A FIGHT FOR REASON.

By *Henry L. Bretton*. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1953, pp. xii, 199, \$3.00.) The question will have to remain forever unanswered whether a non-Nazi Germany would have resigned itself in the long run to the territorial settlement of Versailles; but what the author of this study has sought to show is that Gustav Stresemann, outstanding statesman of the Weimar Republic, while "almost exclusively concerned with the revision or modification of the Treaty of Versailles" never had "the slightest intention of resorting to force in order to achieve his revisionist objectives." This was not an easy task for Stresemann had once been a "most vociferous annexionist and militarist" who believed that "*Machtpolitik* was the sole determining factor in international relations." The author offers convincing evidence that as chancellor and foreign minister of the Republic, Stresemann steered Germany courageously and with great skill into a policy of "fulfillment" of the treaty and of rapprochement with France, spending himself in a fight both with his erstwhile German nationalist associates and with French nationalist opponents of concessions to Germany. His success, though limited, showed that a "militarily weak and defeated nation could arise from under a severe peace settlement without resorting to armed force." However, what the author cannot prove is that Stresemann's reliance on peaceful means indicated a conversion to pacifism rather than a realistic awareness of Germany's then severely limited capacities. The author himself, while mentioning without comment Stresemann's much-quoted passage from a letter to the ex-crown prince in which he explains why Germany must "maneuver" (*finassieren*), accuses him of a "most ominous observation" in his memoirs. Stresemann is alleged to have written that if Germany ever wished to prevent French assistance to Poland, her only task would be to make a future aggression against Poland appear to have been provoked by the Poles. (By an unfortunate misprint the text says "unprovoked.") This reviewer can discover no such implication in the statements of Stresemann to which the reader is referred. At a time when Germany and other nations are again dissatisfied and demanding change, or "liberation," Bretton's dispassionate, scholarly, and well-documented account of revisionism in action makes informative and interesting reading.

ARNOLD WOLFERS, *Yale University*

HITLER'S DEFEAT IN RUSSIA. By General *Wladyslaw Anders*. Foreword by Colonel Truman Smith. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1953, pp. xv, 267, \$4.00.) It would scarcely seem possible to exaggerate the role of Adolf Hitler's stupidity in causing Germany's defeat, but General Anders has done it in an effort to discredit what he calls the myth of Soviet invincibility. By restricting his detailed battle narrative to the years 1941-42 this indomitable Polish patriot has chosen to highlight the close call experienced by Stalin and his cohorts, hoping thereby to emphasize his conclusion concerning the USSR of 1954 "that there are more factors of weakness than of strength." General Anders' military experience since 1914 against both Germans and Russians and his knowledge of the Soviet system, based on his years as Soviet prisoner-of-war, 1939-41, and as a captive ally, 1941-43, have lent his analyses a sound professional

ring. He provides a systematic list of the Führer's ten military blunders, beginning with the two-front war and ending with his practice of clinging to rigid defense lines to the last. Unfortunately, General Anders has not brought these together in any one place (pp. 28, 79, 154, 157). In fact, the last hundred pages might be compared to a group of appendixes on various related subjects: Hitler's eastern policy in the occupied territories, treatment of Soviet prisoners of war, eastern volunteer formations on the German side, partisan warfare, Allied war supplies to the Soviet Union, Allied bombing of the Reich, and a "conclusion" which is really a separate essay on Soviet power today. The whole book is a popular treatment in spite of its professional and even dogmatic tone. None the less, it will help scholars by bringing together between two covers an epitome of numerous recent special studies, documents, and memoirs—all clearly indicated.

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Gaudens Megaro

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Charles Morley

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SOVIET UNION

Sergius Yakobson¹

RUSSIAN INFLUENCE ON EARLY AMERICA. By Clarence A. Manning. (New York, Library Publishers, 1953, pp. vii, 216, \$3.75.) Concealed under the above title is an account of the expansion of Russia into Alaska and the North Pacific, for other Russian influence on early America there was none. While Professor Manning has told the interesting story in considerable detail, he has used few original sources, as his bibliography is composed almost entirely of secondary works. There are forty footnotes for 208 pages of text; thirty-three of the forty are taken from S. B. Okun's *Rossiisko-Amerikanskaiia Kompaniia* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1939). Frank A. Golder's *Russian Expansion in the Pacific* is cited only on page 16 (as *Russian Exposition in the Pacific*). Professor Manning attempts to interpret the past in the light of the present, for in his introduction he refers to "the coming clash of Russia with the United States" and declares: "Russia-USSR are all one piece, the religious-irreligious aspirant for world domination. If this book can throw any light upon this clash, it will have served its purpose." It must be said, however, that while the author shows that Russian activity in America was dominated by the enormous ambition and vast schemes of the Baranovs and the Rezanovs, who dreamed of controlling the North Pacific by acquiring San Francisco and Hawaii, these plans received negligible support from tsars and bureaucrats in St. Petersburg, who had more important concerns than the precarious outposts on the misty North Pacific. As a result, Sitka and Fort Ross, far from posing a threat to American expansion, were reduced to dependence on the ships of the Boston men for their food and their trade. It is no accident that the Pacific is now an American rather than a Russian lake. Yet the author sees in the frantic maneuvers of the helpless Russian adventures an attempt at world dominion and prophesies fresh Russian efforts to push into the lost colony. To this reviewer his conclusions are not convincing.

JOHN SHELTON CURTISS, *Duke University*

LÉNINE ET LA III^e INTERNATIONALE. By Branko Lazitch. Preface by Raymond Aron. [L'Évolution du monde et des idées.] (Neuchâtel and Paris, Editions de la Baconnière, 1951, pp. 286, 750 fr., 12 Swiss fr.) In this excellent summary of the early years of international communism a brief review of Lenin's role in the "Zimmerwald left" at the beginning of World War I is followed by a systematic exposition of the first four congresses (1919-1922) of Lenin's new postwar Communist International. M. Lazitch points out very clearly the degree to which Marx's "scientific" doctrine of the proletariat as the "chosen class" for the socialist revolution was transformed by Lenin into the category of a socially useful "myth." Thus the Bolshevik seizure of

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

power in 1917 was propagandized throughout the new International as a model proletarian revolution when actually it was much more of a *coup d'état* engineered by Communist party professionals and supported by Russian soldiers (or "peasants in uniform") with the Petrograd proletariat itself doing nothing more substantial than mill about in the streets. One of Lenin's favorite tactical concepts had been that of a "bourgeois" revolution carried through "without the bourgeoisie," so it need not be too surprising to find him going one step further and carrying through a "proletarian revolution without the proletariat." Indeed, as far as Lazitch is concerned, the Bolshevik seizure of power was simply Bonapartism brought up to date: Lenin's "October" in 1917, he says, was a putsch from the same calendar as Napoleon's "Brumaire" in 1799. Lenin's general line as he transmitted it to his International, therefore, represented "neither the proletariat as the leading revolutionary class, nor the revolution as the method of arriving at power, nor Germany as the vanguard country, nor Marxism as the controlling doctrine." And though on the surface the Communist International adopted "scientific" Marxism as an exoteric *myth* for the titillation of workers and intellectuals, underneath it developed another and an esoteric *technique* for the party professionals.

RONALD THOMPSON, *George Washington University*

SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY. Volume III, 1933-1941. Selected and Edited by *Jane Degras*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. xxii, 500, \$8.50.) This third and final volume maintains the same high standards and suffers from the same defects, inherent in the plan of the work, as did its predecessors. It is, perhaps, of peculiar interest as dealing with the period in which the Soviet Union gyrated from the position of a pariah nation, seeking friends only among the other pariahs of the world, to become the foremost advocate of "collective security" against "aggressive" pariahs, only to lapse into the smug comfort of a self-contained state, watching with interest to see if the rest of the world would destroy itself in war, and ultimately itself to plunge into life-and-death struggle. The actual motivations of the process cannot, of course, be established from the sort of materials to which the work under consideration confines itself. Denying that the quick cooling of relations with Nazi Germany and Soviet wooing of France betokened a zigzag of Russian policy, Stalin flatly and doubtless truthfully asserted (January 26, 1934): "Our orientation in the past and our orientation at the present time is towards the USSR, and towards the USSR alone." It was the task of the adroit Litvinov to explain the reversal of the Soviet attitude toward the League of Nations, to glorify it (July 7, 1936) as "equipped . . . with such powerful weapons that, in the event of their being fully applied, every aggression can be broken." The essence of collective security, as Litvinov clearly explained (September 21, 1937), "is not universality" of the League but firmness on the part of those qualified to belong to it; "I am firmly convinced that a resolute policy pursued by the League of Nations in one case of aggression would rid us of all the other cases." Stalin echoed this thought (March 10, 1939) in accusing "the non-aggressive states, primarily England, France, and the United States," of contributing to the development of a new world war by "making concession after concession to the aggressors." Yet, as the "non-aggressive states" obviously began to rouse themselves for resistance, the Soviet tone changed sharply. Molotov (May 31, 1939), with evident distaste, emphasized that "the non-aggressive European Powers are anxious to draw the USSR into collaboration in resistance to aggression," but that "we do not by any means think it necessary to renounce business dealings with countries like Germany and Italy." From this it was but a step to the announcement (August 31, 1939) of the "non-aggression" pact with Germany: "it is clear that the commercial and credit agreement with

Germany is fully in accord with the economic interests and defensive needs of the Soviet Union. . . . At the same time, when the German Government expressed a desire to improve political relations as well, the Soviet Government had no grounds for refusing." Molotov's note to the German ambassador (September 5, 1939), cautioning that "concrete action" by Soviet troops against Poland must be timed without "precipitancy," is nowhere referred to in the official rationalization of Russian policy. Instead, Molotov blandly reported (October 31, 1939) "in the past few months such concepts as 'aggression' and 'aggressor' have acquired new concrete connotation, new meaning. . . . To-day . . . Germany's position is that of a State which is striving for the earliest termination of war and for peace. . . ." It would require a fourth volume to make correspondingly clear the chain of thought by which, without ever swerving from the fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy, viz., promotion of the interests of the Russian state—cf. Molotov's boast (August 1, 1940) that 23,000,000 people had been added to the population of the Soviet Union and that "we shall now have ice-free ports in the Baltic of which we stand in need"—Stalin arrived at the prediction (July 3, 1941): "we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America. . . . Our war for the freedom of our fatherland will mingle with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America [N.B., no mention of Asia] for their independence, for democratic liberties. . . ."

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THE THREAT OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM. Edited by *C. Grove Haines*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 402, \$5.00.) "Imperialism," in modern political semantics on both sides of the Iron Curtain, is an epithet to be applied to the aggrandizement of any power of which there is disapproval. All sanctioned and reassuring aggrandizements are labeled, for example, "Manifest Destiny" or "the White Man's Burden" or "liberation." Soviet imperialism is a threat to us, and therefore disapproved. In August, 1953, the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University sponsored a conference in Washington on this threat. The addresses and discussions are here published, with a foreword by the editor and an introduction by Governor Christian A. Herter. These papers are a valuable contribution to a reassessment of East-West relations, item no. 1 on the agenda of world diplomacy today and tomorrow and for a long time to come. The participants, beginning with George F. Kennan and George A. Morgan, analyze anew and fruitfully Soviet attitudes toward the non-Soviet world, Soviet expansionism, Soviet weapons and techniques, and regional aspects of the communist menace in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia. The current climate of American opinion renders difficult any effort to evaluate coldly the sources and nature of threats and counter-threats in a divided world or to explore seriously the possibilities of accommodation. Such accommodation should be considered, however, since war has become impossible save as an exercise in local stalemates or global suicide. The present conferees give little attention to such considerations. Of the thirty-eight speakers and discussion leaders, seventeen are past or present members of the State Department, Foreign Service, or other federal agencies, with many of the academic participants closely identified with the same orientation. Only the independent journalists in the conference—John Hightower, Anthony Leviero, and Samuel Marshall—ask the searching questions. But they seldom receive useful answers. Officialdom, as here represented, is above all possible suspicion of either "subversive infiltration" or independent thinking, for its formulations exhibit a firm determination to conform to popular stereotypes, however inadequate these may be as a basis of coping with the exigencies of our time of troubles. Within these limits, these essays are informative. Yet the

limits in most cases preclude any genuinely incisive examination of the problems of power which mankind must solve as the price of survival.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, *Williams College*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer¹

STUDIES IN CAUCASIAN HISTORY. I, NEW LIGHT ON THE SHADDĀDIDS OF GANJA; II, THE SHADDĀDIDS OF ANI; III, PREHISTORY OF SALADIN. With the Arabic Text of the Chapter on Shaddādids from Münnejjim-Bashī's Duwal al-Islām (Top-Kapı Sarayı MS. 2951). By V. Minorsky, Professor Emeritus in the University of London. [Cambridge Oriental Series, Number 6.] (London, Taylor's Foreign Press, 1953, pp. 178, 18 [Arabic text], 35s.) For half a century Professor Minorsky has investigated the borderlands between the Russians and their southern

¹ Responsible only for the list of articles.

neighbors, and the achievements and knowledge of few men, if any, alive today can compare in this field with his. In this book he centers his attention on the Kurds as leading actors in what he calls the Iranian Intermezzo of the tenth and eleventh centuries, between the Arab domination and the Turkish. Available evidence indicates that the Shaddadids of Ganja were of Kurdish origin, and those of Ani were a cadet branch. Saladin's immediate forebears in their home at Dvin near Ani had close connections with the Shaddadids. The author's most substantial contribution is the editing and translating of a new source on the Shaddadids of Ganja, part of an Arabic work by Munajjim Bashi (d. 1702), who drew his material from an eleventh-century local history. A copy of the Arabic text is reproduced in a clear but amateurish hand, with scattered instances of careless transcription. The translation is marred by frequent errors; it should not be used without referring, if possible, to the Arabic. "To introduce Faḍl he promised to write to Sālār" (English, p. 13) should read "He promised him [al-Faḍl] that he would write to al-Sallār and acquaint him with his situation" (Arabic, p. 7). "... they plundered its districts and occupied them (all) so that they reached Khānaqīn" (English, p. 22) should read "... they raided its districts and went beyond them until they reached Khānaqīn" (Arabic, p. 16). On successive pages (pp. 21-24) the word *thaghr* is rendered as "march," "frontier-town," "frontier," and "frontier region," though the sense of the Arabic does not change. Six lines of the English on page 11 are missing from the original on page 6. The work contains much valuable information on chronology and topography, as well as hypotheses relating to unsolved problems in the history of Transcaucasia in the period under study. Many pages are freighted with minutiae, and all too few are devoted to general observations and conclusions; for the nonspecialist these few are well worth searching for.

GEORGE RENTZ, *Dhahran, Saudi Arabia*

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM: GREECE IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1939-1953. By Dimitrios G. Kousoulas. (Syracuse, N.Y., Syracuse University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 210, \$4.00.) The jacket to this work describes the author as a student at Syracuse University. Prior to coming to this country on a United States government grant he had fought actively and vigorously against communism in Greece. During the battle of Athens he was taken prisoner by the ELAS forces, scheduled for execution on January 15, 1945, and saved at the last moment by the truce agreement. Later he fought in Macedonia against the Communist-led guerrillas during the civil war of 1947-49. In this work the author has set himself a lofty goal: "to dispel the confusion that has existed and aid truth to dominate and overpower prejudice and malice" (p. 5). He expresses at the outset "everlasting gratitude" to "Archbishop Michael and Ambassador Alexis Kyrrou for their moral support." In the course of his survey of "Greece in World Affairs" the author of necessity deals extensively with domestic developments because of the interrelationship of internal and foreign events. Thus his study is a summary of Greek politics and international relations from 1939 to 1953—including the diplomacy of the Italian and German invasions, developments during the occupation period, the civil wars that followed liberation, Greek national claims in the post-war conferences, and finally the entry of Greece into NATO. The sources utilized, and particularly those not utilized, constitute perhaps the most revealing feature of this study. In his footnotes and bibliography the author mentions the work of Premier Papandreou but not of the ELAS commander Saraphis; he uses the works of Premier Tsouderos but not of the EDES leader Pyromaglou; he uses also the book of Marshal Papagos but not of Generals Katheriotes or Gregoriades or even of Field Marshal Lord Wilson. The *EAM White Book* also is missing, which is equivalent to a study of the origins of World War I dispensing with *Die Grosse Politik*. This partisan selection of

sources is reflected in the text of the book and particularly in the treatment of domestic developments such as the circumstances of Saraphis' switch to ELAS, the responsibility for the 1943 civil war, and the origins of the fighting in Athens in December, 1944. The author presents useful material on Greek international relations, interpreting the "truth" from a strongly nationalist and anti-Communist position.

L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Northwestern University*

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Far Eastern History¹

CIVIL SERVICE IN EARLY SUNG CHINA, 960-1067: WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONTROLLED SPONSORSHIP TO FOSTER ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY. By *E. A. Kracke, Jr.*, University of Chicago. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, Volume XIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. xv, 262, \$6.50.) This finished and well-integrated work on the greatest civil service outside the western European tradition is particularly useful in a time when our own government and others depend upon greatly enlarged bodies of trained officials. Professor Kracke has contributed pioneer research on a little-known phase of Chinese history. His study is important for our knowledge of China because it describes personnel administration in a civil service system which remained basically the same from the eleventh century to the twentieth. He shows that this system is particularly worthy of study because it included "a remarkable and unique endeavor to increase responsibility in the civil service: responsibility in the act of appointing and promoting officials, and responsible conduct on the part of the officials appointed and promoted." Dr. Kracke's research is based on first-hand examination of all available sources. His study is a careful analysis, arrangement, and interpretation of the material and is the more valuable because it includes direct translation of many key documents in their entirety. This monograph is of special aid to teachers and students of Far Eastern history. The general description of the Sung government and civil service and the detailed information on "the policy of promotion through controlled sponsorship" help us to understand the lives and environment of such great scholar-officials as *Ssu-ma Kuang*, *Wang An-shih*, *Su Tung-p'o*, and others already well known to Western readers. In no other work, Oriental or Western, can be found such a lucid account of the system of relationships between officials in the Sung period. The first half of Dr. Kracke's book deals with the government of China during the first century of the Sung and with the civil service as a part of that government. The latter half describes the institution of sponsorship. Following this is a section in which are listed 174 "Texts on Sponsorship"; fifteen of these are included in translated form. Useful accessories to the main study comprise a chronological outline, a list of titles and offices of the early Sung period, an annotated bibliography, and an index. Scholars will welcome the Chinese characters inserted in footnotes and bibliography.

WOODBRIDGE BINGHAM, *University of California, Berkeley*

CHINA'S MANAGEMENT OF THE AMERICAN BARBARIANS: A STUDY OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 1841-1861, WITH DOCUMENTS. By *Earl Swisher*. [Far Eastern Association Monograph No. 2.] (New Haven, Far Eastern Publications, 1953, pp. xxi, 844.) While only 69 of the 844 pages of this volume present Professor Swisher's own "Study of Sino-American Relations," the introduction and Part I, "China and the United States: A Chinese View" make a real contribution to understanding the organization and functioning of the Manchu government in the conduct of foreign relations, and of the attitudes of the individual officials who had

¹ Professor E. H. Pritchard has resigned as compiler of the list of articles. The list will be resumed when his successor takes office.

responsibility in dealing with the American "barbarians." Throughout it is revealed that individuals had considerable importance on the Chinese side, the point Tyler Dennett made for the United States in titling his pioneer study "Americans in Eastern Asia." The bulk of this Far Eastern Association Monograph, however, is made up of careful translations of Chinese documents of the period. They are numbered serially from 1 to 544, and are arranged, under appropriate chapter headings (1-14,) by years. Each chapter collection is preceded by a summary statement of the contents of the documents, with an indication of the significance given them occasionally by the emperor through "vermilion endorsement." The principal previous treatments of the subject matter of the documents are indicated by Professor Swisher, who also has very carefully prepared a heading, summarizing content, for each edict and memorial which he and his associates translated. Thus he has extended his contribution much beyond that of translation of the documents. To this contribution is added that of the preparation of a "Glossary of Chinese Personal Names with Biographical Notes," a "Glossary of Foreign Names with Chinese Equivalents and Transliterations," and an annotated bibliography. These add materially to the usability of the translations. Those who use these translations will, undoubtedly, concur in the judgment of Professor Merle Curti, expressed in the foreword to the volume, that "We have here inestimably valuable material hitherto unavailable for correcting and supplementing accepted knowledge about the diplomatic relations of China and the United States from 1841 to 1861." HAROLD M. VINACKE, *University of Cincinnati*

JAPAN'S ROLE IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS, 1940 TO 1945. By *Willard H. Elsbree*, Department of Government, Ohio University. [Issued under the Auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. v, 182, \$3.25.) This study is based primarily on the documents submitted at the trial of the Japanese war criminals, together with articles in Japanese periodicals which are available in English translations. From this material the author has made an interesting study of the way in which Japan used the nationalist movements, and was used by them. The major emphasis is laid upon developments in Indonesia, though fairly full accounts are given for Burma and the Philippines. The Japanese government realized the importance of enlisting the help of the nationalists in the colonies, and succeeded in winning the co-operation of many of the leaders. They were given high-sounding titles with little authority, and extensive facilities for carrying on nationalist propaganda. The Japanese underestimated the shrewdness and determination of the men they were working with and made the blunder of believing that they would be willing to exchange European colonial rule for Japanese control. Gradually the military commanders in the colonies came to realize that further concessions were necessary; but it was a slow and difficult task to convince the higher authorities. Real grants of power were not made until just before Japan's defeat. The result was that the Japanese failed to win wholehearted support in their war against the West. At the same time they very considerably strengthened colonial nationalisms by a mixture of encouragement and oppression; and by their twelfth-hour concessions they left the nationalists in a much stronger position than before the war to continue their struggle against their former European rulers. Without in the least intending it the Japanese greatly accelerated the development of self-government.

LENNOX A. MILLS, *University of Minnesota*

THE WHITE UMBRELLA: INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM MANU TO GANDHI. By *D. Mackenzie Brown*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953,

pp. xv, 205, \$3.75.) This is an exciting book. Americans are only beginning to learn of the vast thinking of India throughout recorded history on all subjects—mathematics, philosophy, medicine, grammar and linguistics, the natural sciences, and now political science. This is a brief survey. But the author has swept into his story the vital and most compelling portions of an extensive literature, weaving an integrated pattern covering more than two thousand years of recorded thinking. It is a challenging book, frequently leaving the reader demanding much more than a single chapter can encompass. The reader has only to jump to the bibliography offered by the author to satisfy his demand. Between Manu, the ancient law-giver, and Gandhi, the modern leader, are chapters on the Mahabharata, Kautilya, Sukra, Vivekananda, Tagore, and Aurobindo, for the latter three no less than the former were sources of great political energy. The White Umbrella (*śveta cchattra* in Sanskrit) was the ancient Indian symbol of sovereignty. That sovereignty, however, in the earliest writing was tempered by a core of caution against “flaunting the sacred laws of society.” While there was not a little of the Machiavellian flavor in the ancient law, there was also much that the leaders of a modern democracy might well ponder. The author’s conclusion is an invitation to the reader to weigh the future of an Indian nation founded on a constitution whose principles are mainly Western, but with a background of Hindu jurists “with a remarkable skill in influencing their countrymen to abandon practices of which they disapproved.” This is a popular book, but since it is the first presentation of its kind it may well be pondered by the political scientist whose interests go beyond the concepts of the West.

HORACE I. POLEMAN, *Library of Congress*

United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

ORIGIN OF THE LAND TENURE SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Marshall Harris, Head, Land Tenure Section, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture. (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 1953, pp. xiv, 445, \$7.50.) Few readers of this excellent study will disagree with the author’s expressed view that an understanding of our present land tenure system and proposals for improvement is predicated on knowledge of its origin and subsequent developments. Here is a record, on the one hand, of settlers who fled to America to escape feudal practices and staunchly fought to prevent the development of a landed aristocracy in the New World, and, on the other hand, of colonizing agencies and private individuals who saw in America a place where decadent feudalism might be resurrected. Out of this confused and often conflicting pattern evolved our national land tenure system. The importance of this evolution of land tenure on the political and economic development of the thirteen original colonies and the many forces, factors, and conditions which caused the change have been largely overlooked by many social scientists. In searching for the roots of colonial land tenure in English history Mr. Harris traces the development of English feudal tenure from the time of the Saxons through the feudal period, particularly stressing the significance of the distinctive features of Kent and Durham as basic patterns. As in many other studies which seek to emphasize the importance of the English heritage in the development of Ameri-

¹ Responsible only for the selected lists of articles and documents.

can institutions, British practices and the common law receive considerable attention. Thus, according to Mr. Harris, the "universal heritage in the common law was one of the strong factors influencing the early land system in Colonial America" (p. 144). However, later he seemingly refutes the widely accepted legal theory that English common law was brought to America by all English settlers and claimed by them as the birthright of all free Englishmen. Rather, according to Mr. Harris, "it appears that English common law was not accepted in all of the colonies, at least in equal degree; that many of the colonies, the corporate colonies in particular, openly disavowed allegiance to common law principles; that the common law as it relates to property rights and arrangements was accepted less widely than that which was related to human rights and liberties; . . . and that the theory of acceptance of the common law more nearly fits the situation after the Revolutionary War than at any time during the two centuries of the Colonial era" (p. 354). However, the greater portion of the study is devoted to contrasting tenure systems which evolved in the royal, proprietary, and charter colonies. In reality, the people of the colonies were "forging a new land system inhibited only slightly by tenure institutions of the past." Each colony was free, within bounds, to enact land laws consistent with its own institutions and suitable to its own needs. As quitrents, primogeniture, entails, and other aspects of feudal tenure gradually lost ground in the colonies, a land system built upon more easy conditions of acquisition and alienation emerged; land was a commodity to be acquired, utilized, and sold for profit rather than to be held as a family estate for posterity. The organization of the book is logical, scholarship is sound, and the research, based largely on original sources, is thorough. The value of the book is enhanced by an excellent bibliography and a comprehensive index divided into three distinct divisions: biographical, geographic, and subject.

THEODORE L. CARLSON, *Western Michigan College*

THE OLIVE BRANCH: PETITION OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS TO GEORGE III, 1775, AND LETTERS OF THE AMERICAN ENVOYS, AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1775. By *Cornelius W. Wickersham* and *Gilbert H. Montague*. (New York, New York Public Library, 1954, pp. 43, \$6.50.) A facsimile of the petition sent "To the King's most Excellent Majesty," by the Continental Congress in July, 1775, not quite two months after Lexington and Concord, has been published by the New York Public Library, owner of the document. With it three letters on its fate are reproduced: the first, from Arthur Lee, August 28, 1775, reporting delivery to Lord Dartmouth and picturing the current political scene; a second, from Richard Penn to Mr. Chambers pleading the cause of the colonies, undated but certainly in August-September; the last, signed jointly by Penn and Arthur Lee, September 2, 1775, telling that the two copies (sent by different ships) had been duly delivered but that "as his Majesty did not receive it on the throne, no Answer would be given." The comments by Messrs. Wickersham and Montague tell the history of this document and stress the role of the petition in the current tug of war between John Adams, leading the New Englanders for immediate independence, and John Dickinson, head of the conservative wing. Twelve hundred copies have been printed, high tribute to the skill and good taste of printer and engraver. The other copy of the document is in the London Public Record Office. H. M. LYDENBERG, *Greensboro, North Carolina*

THE FIRST SARATOGA: BEING THE SAGA OF JOHN YOUNG AND HIS SLOOP-OF-WAR. By *William Bell Clark*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1953, pp. viii, 199, \$3.50.) Extremely close examination is required to discover anything creditable in the war record of a navy whose officers were all amateurs and

which lost all but one of its ships—namely, the American Navy of the Revolution. Such examination has usually been devoted to the exploits of John Paul Jones, John Barry (two of the most biographed men in naval history), or Joshua Barney. John Young has been utterly neglected. The deficiency has now been made good, and the book itself explains, between the lines, how it came about. For the first *Saratoga* never got into an eye-catching action with a regular warship and was lost at sea with all hands on an assignable date. Yet no one who reads this painstakingly prepared book, with its many sidelights on other transactions of the Revolutionary navy, can doubt for a moment that John Young missed being numbered among the movers and shakers only by the accident of being unable to survive a sudden squall. John Paul Jones had leadership and indomitable spirit; John Young drilled his men in gunnery in a period when such a thing was not done by any other ship in any navy, and made a piratical pickup crew into remarkably efficient men-o'-warships. Mr. Clark has done a memorable job in assembling the parts of a mosaic from many and sparse sources, both as to the man and the ship. The captain steps out of his pages as a vigorous, driving seaman, but most especially as a man who did some genuine naval thinking, both on the handling of a single ship, and on questions of naval strategy. It is both a pleasure and a benefit to have him rescued from the shadows for us.

FLETCHER PRATT, *New York, N. Y.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S FARM BOOK: WITH COMMENTARY AND RELEVANT EXTRACTS FROM OTHER WRITINGS. Edited by *Edwin Morris Betts*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for American Philosophical Society, 1953, pp. xxiii, 552, \$15.00.) In this edition of Thomas Jefferson's Farm Book, Mr. Edwin Morris Betts is to be congratulated in having produced a scholarly work of equal distinction with his edition of Jefferson's Garden Book, published in 1944. In this second work Mr. Betts has followed a similar plan to his edition of the Garden Book, with one important and highly satisfactory difference, for in this work he has reproduced the whole of Jefferson's Farm Book in facsimile. This innovation puts the reader at once in complete touch with Jefferson, his farm, his slaves, everything that concerns him, and brings the picture to life in the mind of the reader in a manner impossible when merely reading the printed document. Following the reproduction of the Farm Book, Mr. Betts has taken in turn each of the twenty-five or so main subjects treated by Jefferson, to each one has written a scholarly introduction, followed by a series of relevant letters to and from Jefferson on the subject concerned. The result is complete information concerning everything appertaining to farm life in Virginia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—the entries begin in 1774 and extend to 1826, the year of Jefferson's death. In his entries Jefferson does not confine himself to his own methods, but gives information also as to the views of other farmers, such as "G. Washington" and Dr. Logan, with occasional comments on the experiments of Dr. Young. Occasionally it may be said Jefferson seems slightly scornful of the methods of G. Washington and Dr. Logan. On page 97, for instance, under the heading "Rotation of Crops," he gives the rotation as used by G. Washington, then by Dr. Logan, and follows their rotations with "a good one"! Mr. Betts's selection of illustrative correspondence has been made in a most erudite and picturesque manner, and provides the reader with an exhaustive account of every subject touched by Jefferson. Dealing as his Farm Book does with human beings (particularly slaves), as well as with everything they grew, manufactured, or used, this book is not only a Farm Book but a most important sociological document, essential to a proper understanding of the period. The appendixes include most useful biographies of all persons mentioned, a list of the places, and definitions of terms used in the

Farm Book. The book is well printed by the Princeton University Press, and the endpapers consist of a delightful map of the Jefferson country by Norman Thrower.

E. M. SOWERBY, *Library of Congress*

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF COLONEL JOHN TRUMBULL, PATRIOT-ARTIST, 1756-1843: CONTAINING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE WORKS OF COLONEL JOHN TRUMBULL. Edited by *Theodore Sizer*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953, pp. xxiii, 404, \$6.00.) In this very attractive book Professor Theodore Sizer adds a companion piece to his volume concerning John Trumbull's artistic works which appeared in 1950. He intended originally to write a biography of the recorder of the Revolution but has chosen instead to republish Trumbull's autobiography, together with generous notes and appendixes which explain obscure passages and offer valuable information not included in the artist's own chronicle. Room may remain for a biography of Trumbull. Nevertheless, there is no reason to question the wisdom of Professor Sizer's decision to change his plan, for he makes readily available in a pleasing format a minor American classic and at the same time offers some rich fruits from his own researches. He also makes helpful corrections to his check list of Trumbull's productions which appeared in his first volume concerning the artist. To his extensive description of the Trumbull canon Professor Sizer now adds helpful and sometimes fascinating data about Trumbull as a person and judicious comment upon him as well. In his autobiography Trumbull quite understandably did not tell all his private difficulties. Even in his old age, when it was written, he did not choose to emphasize that he had been handicapped from childhood by a substantial loss of sight in one eye or to inform the world that he had long suffered because of a youthful liaison which produced an illegitimate son or that his beautiful but drunken wife had deeply injured him in the public view. In the autobiography a dignified and proud man interestingly writes of important events he saw and great personages he knew in America and Europe; in the notes which relate what some would describe as the "seamy side" of his life appears a troubled and human person who fought steadily and without undue complaint against outrageous fortune. Trumbull was irascible, contentious, and incapable of splendid production during the second half of his long life. Before he was forty, however, he had produced the best of the historical paintings which must ever associate his name with those of Washington and other memorable persons and events of the Revolution. Professor Sizer and the Yale University Press are to be congratulated.

JOHN R. ALDEN, *University of Nebraska*

GENERAL WILLIAM JENKINS WORTH: MONTEREY'S FORGOTTEN HERO.

By *Edward S. Wallace*. (Dallas, Texas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1953, pp. viii, 242, \$5.00.) Edward Wallace's *William Jenkins Worth*, along with many excellent military biographies produced by our mobilized generation, documents the extent to which the fighting ability of Americans from Palo Alto to Appomattox was made possible by the development of a professional officer corps in the decades following the War of 1812. General Worth, one of the ablest professional soldiers of the 1830's and 1840's, executor of the brilliant flanking movement that led to victory at Monterey, and division commander in Winfield Scott's march to Mexico City, is truly a "forgotten man" of this critical period in American military history. In seeking to restore Worth to his proper place, however, this volume devotes too much space to discrediting, often unfairly, those whom the author blames for blackening Worth's reputation. Worth is admitted to be rash and vainglorious, but the book focuses so narrowly on Worth's own actions that his significance is unduly magnified. The

reader, for example, gets the erroneous impression that, after a long parade of military men had failed, Worth succeeded in cleaning up the troublesome Seminole War. The hard fighting done by the rest of Taylor's army at Monterey is not indicated. There is no hint of Worth's responsibility for the reckless charge at Churubusco or for the costly assault on Molino del Rey without adequate artillery preparation. On other occasions though, the evidence vindicates Worth and calls for revision of earlier judgments. The author has done a thorough research job (making particularly effective use of a recently discovered account of the Mexican War by George W. Kendall of the New Orleans *Picayune*) and has worked his findings into a fast-paced narrative. Dust jacket, binding, end-paper maps, illustrations, and typography, all contribute to a volume of unusually handsome design. The lack of a map of Mexico City and vicinity, however, is a serious handicap to following the complicated operations in an area where topography was a crucial factor.

CHARLES GRIER SELLERS, JR., *Princeton University*

THE BOLLINGER LINCOLN LECTURES. Addresses given at the Dedication of the Lincoln Library Collected by James W. Bollinger, November 19, 1951. Edited by *Clyde C. Walton, Jr.* With a Preface by Virgil M. Hancher, President of the State University of Iowa. (Iowa City, State University of Iowa Libraries, Bollinger Lincoln Foundation, 1953, pp. 80, \$5.00.) The late James W. Bollinger, bequeathed to his alma mater, the State University of Iowa, the magnificent library of Lincoln literature which he had delighted to assemble. At the formal ceremonies attending its dedication (on the eighty-eighth anniversary of a dedication at Gettysburg) five distinguished scholars took part; their addresses constitute the text of this handsomely printed memorial. Quite appropriately, the first three are warmly personal. Paul M. Angle, for a quarter of a century an intimate and admiring friend, evokes Judge Bollinger's boundless zest in life, his gastronomic predilections, his devotion to the Lincoln cause. Benjamin P. Thomas describes the judge's activities in connection with the exposure of the Lincoln forgeries so gaily and carelessly but expensively perpetrated by Harry Sickles. Harry E. Pratt comments on the judge's favorite Lincoln books: Thayer's *Pioneer Boy* in Greek was his "Kohinoor." Turning from bibliomania to history, Charles J. Lynch informatively discusses Lincoln's role as counsel in the Effie Afton Bridge case. Finally, Louis A. Warren urges "Tomorrow's Lincoln Authors" increasingly to specialize and concentrate on isolated episodes in Mr. Lincoln's career. In this he answers James G. Randall's question, "Has the Lincoln theme been exhausted?" with an emphatic "No," and cites the address just delivered by his companion, Mr. Lynch, as a striking example. But for the most part the judge's portly frame overshadows the taller, leaner figure of his master.

DAVID C. MEARNS, *Library of Congress*

THE CASE OF MRS. SURRETT: HER CONTROVERSIAL TRIAL AND EXECUTION FOR CONSPIRACY IN THE LINCOLN ASSASSINATION. By *Guy W. Moore.* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. xi, 142, \$3.00.) In the spring of 1867, Representative Ben. Butler received a frenzied plea from a gentleman in Rhode Island: "For Gods sake do not try to make that She Wolf Surratt a Martyr. We all know by the Evidence that the Murder of Mr. Lincoln was planed at Her House and by Her aid and connivence." But the lady had not shown herself to be lupine; in more tranquil times much of the evidence against her would have been impatiently rejected; hers was the most celebrated case of guilt by association that ever disturbed the national conscience. Mary Surratt, charged with complicity in Lincoln's murder, was tried before a military commission of doubtful legality and

convicted upon the testimony, possibly suborned, of two generally incompetent and compromised witnesses. One "resembled a timid slug," the other was a drunkard; both were cowards. Found guilty and condemned to death, Mrs. Surratt's judges, in consideration of her sex and age, recommended that her sentence be commuted to life imprisonment. But either because it was deliberately withheld (for reasons of his own) by the judge advocate or rejected by the President (who later insisted it had never come to his notice), the plea for clemency was without effect. Together with the conspirators, Mrs. Surratt was hanged in the penitentiary yard. The story of Mrs. Surratt, her life, trial, and execution, has been told many times, but never has it been told so well as by Mr. Moore. He has meticulously reviewed the old and familiar records; he has carefully examined materials until recently unavailable or sequestered, or expurgated; he has contrasted statements, confirming some, impeaching others; and has attained an extraordinary objectivity in a relation which, at other hands, has been uneasy with passion, presupposition, or special pleading. And more than this: with admirable documentation and fastidious neatness, he has reported his findings in a style so scrupulously clear as to invest the little book with qualities of literary achievement. Mr. Moore concedes the possibility that Mrs. Surratt may have been aware of a plan to abduct Abraham Lincoln (she may even have been party to it), but persuasively he rejects as unproved and untenable the charge that she was implicated in a plot to kill him.

DAVID C. MEARNS, *Library of Congress*

PIONEERING LEADERS IN LIBRARIANSHIP. First Series. Edited by *Emily Miller Danton*. [American Library Pioneers, Volume VIII.] (Chicago, American Library Association, 1953, pp. 202, \$4.25.) Since 1924 the American Library Association has published seven biographies of distinguished librarians in a "Library Pioneers" series. Now it has issued the first of omnibus volumes, described by its editor as "a sort of subseries" to the former. This volume has biographical sketches of Clement Walker Andrews, Sarah B. Askew, Arthur E. Bostwick, Richard Rogers Bowker, Miriam E. Carey, Jennie M. Flexner, James L. Gillis, J. C. M. Hanson, Carolina Maria Hewins, Josephus Nelson Larned, Henry Eduard Legler, Eunice Rockwood Oberly, Ernest Cushing Richardson, Minerva Sanders, Katharine Lucinda Sharp, Elizabeth Putnam Sohler, Mary L. Titcomb and Alice Sarah Tyler. Where applicable, there is outlined the professional career of each with details of membership in, and service rendered in behalf of, local library associations and A.L.A. Except for two library trustees, the positions the subjects held represent several types of library work. The inclusion of the trustees made the editor feel it inappropriate to designate this volume as belonging to the "Library Pioneers" series, and she chose for it the admittedly clumsy title, *Pioneering Leaders in Librarianship*, as giving "a fairly accurate characterization"! The subjects were selected because they "deserved commemoration and to have their contributions known and recognized." Each sketch was written by a different author who, in most cases, knew his subject intimately and affectionately. Helpful as such qualifications might be, they can not substitute for competence in writing biographical sketches. These tributes, composed in highly complimentary terms, may be valued by librarians whose backgrounds will enable them to appreciate the accomplishments of their precursors. It is doubtful, however, that the subjects are convincingly enough delineated to bring recognition of the importance of their contributions to members of other professions. The publication as a whole presents little to praise, although there is a wide disparity of excellence in the sketches. In the main, they exhibit considerable naiveté and contain numerous clichés and *non sequiturs*.

ROBERT H. LAND, *Library of Congress*

G. P. A. HEALY, AMERICAN ARTIST: AN INTIMATE CHRONICLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Marie de Mare*. Introduction by *Eleanor Roosevelt*. (New York, David McKay, 1954, pp. xvi, 304, \$6.00.) "You say a portrait painter has only to copy? His model is there: All he has to do is to reproduce it? But within the features that outline a physiognomy, the artist must find the soul." And so Marie de Mare finds and reveals the soul of G. P. A. Healy in this biography of her illustrious grandfather. She creates a penetrating and vivid portrait, not only of the man and his family but also of the age in which they lived. Here is a reflection of the nineteenth century, expressed with strong emotion and rendered with the sweeping action and color of the artist. From the palette and brush of Healy came a prodigious pictorial record of nationally and internationally famous personages of the nineteenth century. If it were possible for an American artist to claim the title of "court painter," George Healy, the "Lawrence of America," and the "Painter of Presidents," as he was called by his contemporaries, would have earned it, for his long list of distinguished patrons included kings, queens, princes, presidents, statesmen, and the fashionable elite. This is truly a story of success and fame which portrays a self-taught and individual artist of unquestionable talent, boundless energy, and driving ambition, but one who never lost his warmth for humanity. A frank admiration and love of people, whether millionaire, prince, or humble folk, is expressed with dignity, affection, generosity, and sincerity in the "counterfeit representations," as portraiture was called by his fellow Americans. As the great and near great came before his easel, for a brief moment history paused to be captured in the "gaunt visage and deep luminous eyes" of Andrew Jackson, in the "long nose and wide, tight mouth" of Henry Clay, and in the "sensitive, nervous, powerful hands" of Abbé Liszt. This biography of an important American figure who lived in the social, intellectual, and artistic centers of two continents is rich in historical and artistic anecdote, told with charm and vitality.

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER, *University of Arkansas*

ARTHUR PUE GORMAN. By *John R. Lambert*. [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1953, pp. ix, 397, \$6.00.) Arthur Pue Gorman began his long career in Congress at the age of thirteen in 1852 as a page boy. He had worked his way up the ladder to the position of postmaster of the Senate by 1866, when his friendship with President Johnson lost him the job. He was rewarded with a post as collector of internal revenue; went from that to the Maryland house of delegates, thence to the state senate, and from there to the United States Senate, where he remained but for one brief interlude until his death in 1906. There could hardly be found in the annals of the Gilded Age a more single-minded example of *homo politicus*. "Because of Gorman's overwhelming prepossession for practical politics," writes his biographer, "this study is, perforce, a political biography." In that era "practical" politics as distinguished from other types meant the politics of the bosses and machines, conference room and caucus. It meant keeping under wraps what Gorman called the "Wild People," reformers of various kinds, and resolving political and social conflict by means of amiable understandings and compromises between party leaders who understood the game. Gorman was a past master at that game, and it was by means of his shrewd gamemanship that his greatest triumphs were achieved. The task of keeping a rebellious South and a restive West subordinate to such eastern Democrats as Thomas Fortune Ryan taxed all of Gorman's resources. Whenever the "Wild People" got out of hand and attempted to make politics reflect deeply felt social and economic needs, Gorman was out of his element. Mr. Lambert regrets that he has been able to find "virtually nothing" about his subject's private life. In view of the two-dimensional thinness of the political life of that era it is all the

more regrettable that no more evidence on Gorman's private affairs could be turned up, for it was often the relation between private interests and public life that was one of the most interesting aspects of his generation of politicians. Of his public life, however, Mr. Lambert has written a competent and thorough study.

C. VANN WOODWARD, *Johns Hopkins University*

DECISION FOR WAR, 1917: THE LACONIA SINKING AND THE ZIMMERMANN TELEGRAM AS KEY FACTORS IN THE PUBLIC REACTION AGAINST GERMANY. By *Samuel S. Spencer, Jr.* (Rindge, N.H., Richard R. Smith, 1953, pp. 109, \$2.50.) Back in the 1930's many historians wrote about American entry into World War I. Unfortunately, few now concern themselves with this important subject. We should therefore welcome this short volume, which shows how events of February and March, 1917, increased anti-German feeling in the United States and made a declaration of war inevitable. Using published materials, newspapers, magazines, and manuscript collections, Spencer makes his point well. He could have strengthened his book by consulting more manuscripts and newspapers, and by consulting special-interest periodicals (for labor, agriculture, business, religious groups, etc.). But, as it stands, the study is a significant addition to the bibliography of American diplomatic history. Spencer will not, however, carry all readers with him the whole way. His introduction ("Dilemma of Neutrality") does not inquire very deeply into the causes of German-American conflict. His conclusion, a defense of American entry into World War I, is equally superficial. At every point the author accepts the judgment of the pro-Wilson writers (Seymour, Baker, Perkins, Bell) and rejects the arguments of the revisionists (Grattan, Millis, Peterson, Tansill). In other words, he enlists on one side in the historical controversies of the 1930's. His evidence for February-March, 1917, supports some of the arguments of the pro-Wilson writers; but Spencer's generalizations go far beyond this period. These generalizations may be correct; but they are not here adequately supported. All of this suggests the need for re-examination of the problems of 1914-17, not to test conclusions of the writers of the 1930's (who were concerned about special problems of their own decade) but to put World War I developments in the broad setting of American expansion in the twentieth century. Let us hope that volumes like this will turn attention to the matter.

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON, *University of Wisconsin*

RACE, JOBS, AND POLITICS: THE STORY OF FEPC. By *Louis Ruchames*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, pp. x, 255, \$3.75.) When the FEPC was first proposed—and after—there were warnings from advocates of Sumner's mores and law theories, and predictions of injury to business and increased racial strife. The validity of such views is seriously questioned in this volume. Although aspects of FEPC history, practice, and effectiveness have been treated in, for example, Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (1948) and Morroe Berger, *Equality by Statute* (1952), Ruchames' book is the first comprehensive story of the subject. It traces the origin, organization, and functioning of the first (1941-43) and second (1943-46) FEPC. It recounts the constant trials the FEPC faced, especially in 1944 when the Smith Committee found occasions for looking into its authority, a Senate-inspired move greatly imperiled its appropriation, and the famous Philadelphia strike (called in protest against the upgrading of eight Negroes) halted all surface, subway, and elevated transportation service. After relating the death of FEPC, owing to the want of vigorous support by Truman and others, the author devotes the remaining third of his book to an evaluation of the committee's achievements and the consequences

therefrom. Among these were, first, a lessening of employment discrimination, without harm to business and the exacerbation of race relations—this being done in the main through quiet negotiations conducted on a regional level (only five per cent of some 8,000 cases in three years were handled by the national office) and through the ability to apply “certain sanctions and pressures” (e.g., through the War Manpower Commission). Second, an arousal of public opinion that resulted in state and municipal FEPC’s, especially New York’s SCAD, whose operations are acutely analyzed. Ruchames’ opinions on the future for a permanent federal FEPC and the fate of even “the most stringent and wisest FEPC law,” should the United States suffer a prolonged depression of serious proportions, provoke interest. This is not only a much-needed and temperate volume but it is also a well-written, well-organized, and well-documented one.

JOSEPH A. BOROMÉ, *City College, New York*

LOGISTICAL SUPPORT OF THE ARMIES. Volume I, May, 1941–September, 1944. By Roland G. Ruppenthal. [United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington, Department of the Army, 1953, pp. xviii, 616, \$4.50.) The plan of the army historians emerges clearly in this account of the American build-up in Britain and subsequent logistical support of the initial operations in France. By pointing up sharply certain aspects of the war not made explicit in previous volumes, this study gives balance to the series concerned with the War Department and the European Theater of Operations. It becomes evident, for example, that an emergency assault on the Continent in 1942 would have been disastrous for logistical reasons just as Torch later ruled out a major landing in 1943 by draining off vital supplies and setting back the service forces in England a full year. Of equal importance is the fact that logistical considerations determined the magnitude and indeed the whole concept of Overlord by dictating the objectives, the scale of the assault and choice of lodgment area. Furthermore, this volume complements Hugh Cole’s *Lorraine Campaign* by confirming that shortages of supply brought General Patton’s army to an abrupt halt, but that in the final analysis the very existence of the supply problem was a product of radical alterations in tactical plans. The American forces, unable for weeks to break out of Normandy, suddenly raced 130 days ahead of schedule, overran initial objectives and threw an unexpected burden on the supply services. Dr. Ruppenthal’s judicious treatment of the relationship between logistics, administrative planning, and tactical operations places these aspects of war in proper perspective. Modern war, he points out, has “brought about a relentless encroachment on the long-favored position of the combat forces in the troop basis. . . .” It took War Department planners some time to realize that the World War I proportion of service forces to ground troops was inadequate. There is no carping here about the “repeated subordination of logistic considerations to prospects of immediate tactical advantage,” but it is made explicit that sudden changes in operational plans had serious repercussions in the realm of logistics. Because the supply services kept the armies moving until September, 1944, by performing miracles of improvisation, “the real meaning of the tyranny of logistics” was not learned by the Allies until after the halt east of the Seine. The second volume, which discusses this phase of operations, will be awaited with interest.

GORDON B. TURNER, *Princeton University*

ALEUTIANS, GILBERTS, AND MARSHALLS, JUNE 1942–APRIL 1944. By Samuel Eliot Morison. With an Introduction on Fast Carrier Operations, 1943–1945, by Commander James C. Shaw, USN. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume VII.] (Boston, Little, Brown, 1951, pp. xxxix, 369, \$6.00.) As the

title indicates, this seventh of a projected fourteen volumes covers events in two theaters, the North and Central Pacific. Approximately a fifth of the book is devoted to Aleutian affairs, the bombardment of Japanese garrisons, the battle of the Koman-dorski Islands, and the reoccupation of Attu and Kiska. The balance of the work is concerned with the far more important Central Pacific area and covers the period from midsummer, 1943, when planning for the advance into Micronesia was begun, through February, 1944, and the capture of Eniwetok. The operations of this period were of great strategic significance. Loss of the Gilberts and Marshalls forced the Japanese to scrap their original plans for defending their island perimeter, while American possession of these atolls eliminated the salient separating Hawaii from the South Pacific, opened the north coast of New Guinea to the advance of South-west Pacific forces, and exposed the Marianas and Western Carolines to carrier attack. Tactically too the period is important, for it saw the full development of carrier striking forces and amphibious forces into weapons which the enemy was unable to counter. Like its companion volumes, *Aleutians, Gilberts, and Marshalls* combines a generally high standard of technical accuracy, adequate detail, and a lively and literate style. A chapter is devoted to Pacific strategy and planning, and there are a few pages on submarine operations. The main narrative deals with six Central Pacific landings (Makin, Tarawa, and Abemama in the Gilberts; Majuro, Kwajalein, and Eniwetok in the Marshalls) and concludes with an account of the first carrier attack on Truk. Appropriately, since from this time the vast Pacific distances become increasingly the main obstacle to westward advance, there is an excellent chapter on logistics afloat, with comments on the fleet train, joint staff planning, and the service squadrons.

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DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1952. Edited by *Clarence W. Baier*, World Peace Foundation, and *Richard P. Stebbins*, Council on Foreign Relations. (New York, Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, 1953, pp. xv, 391, \$5.00.)

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1952. By *Richard P. Stebbins*, and the Research Staff of the Council on Foreign Relations. With an Introduction by *William L. Langer*. (New York, Harper and Brothers for Council on Foreign Relations, 1953, pp. xiv, 492, \$5.00.) Publication of this series of annual volumes, initiated by the World Peace Foundation in 1939, is now taken over by the Council on Foreign Relations. Richard P. Stebbins, co-editor of the *Documents* for 1952, is also the principal author of recent volumes in the council's other series, *The United States in World Affairs*, and the 1952 volumes of the two series are closely correlated, with cross-references from each to the other. Comparison of the *Documents* for 1952 with earlier volumes is inevitable—and disappointing. In one respect there is improvement: six months or more have been cut from the time-lag in publication; the new volume follows by only a few months that for 1951. Otherwise the 1952 volume will be less valuable than its predecessors. Its 391 pages of text compare with 601 pages for 1951; and since many pages in the earlier volume were in fine print, the disparity is greater than the numbers of pages indicate. The fine-print matter in earlier volumes consisted of explanatory introductions and notes. The reason given for omitting such material is that cross-references to *The United States in World Affairs* perform the same function, but the reader will find in the latter publication no such detailed and specific information regarding the various documents as was formerly supplied. Preceding volumes have been indexed quite fully (the index to the 1951 volume was 24 pages in length). The new volume has no index. The 1951 volume

had fifteen sections; that for 1952 has seven; namely, The United States: Principles and Policies; Soviet Foreign Policy; The North Atlantic Treaty Organization; European Questions; Asia and the Far East; The American Republics; The United Nations. Lacking, among other things, are sections which formerly dealt with conduct of foreign relations, dependent areas, trade and finance, transport and communications, agriculture and natural resources, labor and social problems, and cultural relations. These sections and the index will be missed. The volume will of course be useful as it is, but its almost exclusively political orientation will limit its field of usefulness. The companion volume, *The United States in World Affairs, 1952*, contains little food for self-satisfaction on the part of the United States or its principal allies. No reason to expect an abatement of the cold war appeared as 1952 ran its course. In the Soviet Union, Georgi M. Malenkov (destined soon to succeed Stalin as head of the government) showed no sign of favoring a milder policy toward the West. Soviet propaganda seemed to the authors of the volume more skillful and more successful than Washington's psychological warfare. The energy and enthusiasm that had attended the launching of NATO had subsided. A European Defense Community treaty had been signed but not ratified. In the U. N. General Assembly, United States leadership was slipping. An Asian-African bloc, often supported by Latin America, and determined to maintain independence of both parties in the cold war, showed increasing cohesion. It betokened a new global class-consciousness, a revolt of the poor against the rich, which offered obvious opportunities for exploitation by Moscow. Hope for recovery of American leadership in the free world seemed to the authors to lie in a display of more consideration for the needs of the "underdeveloped countries," but they saw little indication that Washington was aware of this problem or knew how to cope with it. Nor did "the great crusade" of 1952 hold out much promise of improvement in this respect. On the whole, this is a sound and wholesome analysis of the 1952 trends in the international position of the United States, but an analysis likely to be read with more pleasure in Moscow than in Washington.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

PURITAN SAGE: COLLECTED WRITINGS OF JONATHAN EDWARDS. Edited by *Vergilius Ferm*, Compton Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy in the College of Wooster. (New York, Library Publishers, 1953, pp. xxvii, 640, \$7.50.) This volume has been issued in commemoration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Jonathan Edwards. It includes his early scientific and philosophical notes, his diary and resolutions, nine of his sermons, five of his letters, and extensive excerpts from all of his longer works, along with an introduction describing his life, ideas, and place in history. In spite of the disappearance of the Calvinist doctrines which Edwards spent his life defending, he remains a vital figure in the American intellectual tradition; and as Perry Miller has recently demonstrated, he has something to say to the twentieth century. Unfortunately it cannot be said that the present volume offers much assistance for any reassessment of the meaning of Edwards' career. It is considerably longer than the anthologies edited by Van Doren and by Faust and Johnson but less useful in all other respects. Edwards' "Personal Narrative," without which it is impossible to form any clear concept of what Calvinism meant to him, has been omitted; nor has the editor included transcripts of any of the personal notes which Edwards left in shorthand. His main source has been the collection of the works prepared by Sereno Dwight over a century ago, and he has added nothing of much importance that cannot be found in that edition. The introduction, moreover, does not give a very clear picture of Edwards' life and times. For example, it does not even mention Whitefield's preaching tour of New England in 1740 and the religious hysteria resulting from it, and in consequence fails to present any adequate explanation of the reaction against revivalism and how this affected both the writings and the life of Edwards. And in discussing his controversy with his Northampton parishioners, it confuses the Stoddardean practice of allowing unconverted persons to come to the communion table with the Half-Way Covenant, which granted certain rights to the children of church members but did not admit them to full communion.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE CAROLINA BACKCOUNTRY ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION: THE JOURNAL AND OTHER WRITINGS OF CHARLES WOODMASON, ANGLICAN ITINERANT. Edited and with an Introduction by Richard J. Hooker. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, 1953, pp. xxxix, 305, \$5.00.) Any person with an interest in the social and political history of the American frontier will find the journal, letters, and sermons of Charles Woodmason rewarding reading. No Old Testament prophet ever castigated his audiences more bitterly for their shortcomings than did this itinerant Anglican clergyman who traveled extensively through the South Carolina back country between 1766 and 1771 seeking to plant and strengthen the Established Church in a region where its adherents were in a hopeless minority. Although the observations of this prejudiced and intolerant clergyman cannot be accepted literally, this volume of Woodmason's writings, ably edited by Richard J. Hooker of Roosevelt College, is full of interesting and colorful details of life on the Carolina frontier. The author was unduly critical of the people among whom he labored. He despised them for their loose morals and crude manners, their lack of industry and failure to observe the civilized graces to which he was accustomed, and for their partiality for the emotional and unlearned discourses of the dissenting clergymen. Yet, if Woodmason's writings reveal an observer who was narrow-minded, bigoted, and self-righteous, they also show a man who possessed a strong sense of justice and a real hatred for the oppressions and hardships which the Piedmont frontier suffered because of the indifference to the region of the Charleston area which dominated the colony. This led Woodmason to become the ardent champion and penman of the South Carolina Regulator movement, and one of the most valuable sections of the volume is devoted to his writings on this subject. The blunt and forceful style of the author makes this book an interesting as well as a revealing supplement to the

colonial history of South Carolina. The reader will often find the partisan judgments of Charles Woodmason annoying, but he will also find them stimulating.

JAMES L. BUGG, JR., *University of Missouri*

FAMILY LETTERS OF THE THREE WADE HAMPTONS, 1782-1901. Edited by *Charles E. Cauthen*. [South Caroliniana, No. 4.] (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1953, pp. xix, 181, \$5.00.) As part of its sesquicentennial celebration, the University of South Carolina has been issuing a series of publications under the general title "South Caroliniana," to illustrate the richness of the manuscript holdings of its library. This small, interesting volume of the letters of one of the state's most distinguished families is the fourth to be published. Covering the years 1782-1901, the letters are to or from the three South Carolina statesmen—father, son, and grandson—who bore the name Wade Hampton. The letters of Virginia-born Wade I (ca. 1752-1835) are those of a capable businessman and planter, filled with the talk of cotton, sugar, bank drafts, and land speculation which marked "his relentless determination to win great wealth and the position which wealth could command." He was unusually successful. He owned many thousands of acres of land in South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, hundreds if not thousands of slaves, and manufactured sugar which in value amounted to over \$100,000 in a single year. He was twice a member of Congress, served in the South Carolina Convention of 1788 and was a major general during the War of 1812. The smallest number of letters are those of Wade II (1791-1858), and they contrast remarkably with those of his father. A "cultured country gentleman from the traditional Old South," the second Wade possessed neither his father's business genius nor his political acumen, leaving debts in excess of a half million dollars at his death. The best known of the trio is Wade Hampton III (1812-1902): aristocrat, planter, Confederate cavalry gallant, and Bourbon politician. The great majority of the letters are his, and their range is wide and varied. Many of them give new and significant insight on his long career. Professor Cauthen's annotations and his excellent introductory sketches make this collection both interesting and valuable to the student of the Old South and the New.

WILLIAM E. STOKES, JR., *University of Virginia*

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XIX, THE TERRITORY OF ARKANSAS, 1819-1825. Compiled and Edited by *Clarence Edwin Carter*. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1953, pp. xiii, 1003, \$6.50.) This is the first of three volumes containing the official papers of the Territory of Arkansas. The papers have been drawn, for the most part, from the files of the various departments of the national government. Some important selections have been taken from the *Arkansas Gazette*. The executive register is from the office of the secretary of state of Arkansas. The first volume begins with January, 1818, and extends to March, 1825. The next two volumes will cover the rest of the territorial period. The plan followed in the work is fully explained in a preface of seven pages. Next are 783 pages of documentary material, approximately 777 papers, which, with the exception of not more than twenty, are here printed for the first time. The documents are chronologically arranged and are grouped in six parts. The first consists of 83 pages relating to the foundation of the Territory of Arkansas, January, 1818, to July, 1819. The other five are based, for convenience, on terms of gubernatorial service. In addition, there is the executive register of 85 pages containing entries of all civil appointments by the governors. This covers the whole territorial period and has never before been published. Lastly, there is an accurate and comprehensive index printed in double columns and filling 127 pages. Included are five maps re-

produced from originals. These relate especially to land surveys and Indian claims. To all who are interested in information on the early history of Arkansas this collection will be of inestimable value. With some exceptions the documents included relate particularly to administrative problems. There are revealed many aspects of the land problem, the Indian problem, and other such problems as usually confront pioneer settlers. All selections are carefully documented. There are few errors. The editor is to be commended for the diligence and painstaking care evident throughout the work.

JAMES HARRIS ATKINSON, *Little Rock Junior College*

HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA. By *James B. Sellers*, Professor of History in the University of Alabama. Volume I, 1818-1902. (University, University of Alabama Press, 1953, pp. viii, 649, \$5.00.) In his preface to this record of the origins and nineteenth-century developments of the University of Alabama, Professor Sellers remarks: "In the history of a state university many groups are entitled to consideration. The taxpayers, the alumni, the faculty, and students of social history all have enduring interests in the University." The author is unquestionably correct, but no book of college history can possibly succeed in satisfying all requirements of all groups. In the case of the book under review, students of social and intellectual history will find more cause for dissatisfaction than the other groups whose "enduring interests" Professor Sellers has attempted to gratify. His volume will surely be an important and useful reference work at the university for such matters as enrollment, presidential administrations, faculty appointments, salary scales, building programs, and football scores. On the other hand, the cultural historian, while finding much material of use, will be troubled by the absence of any serious or penetrating investigation of the relationship of the university to the goals of the society which created it, of the values which the university and such student groups as fraternities sought to advance, or of the reasons for the comparatively late flowering of the gymnastic and other extracurricular movements. Alumni and citizens of Alabama can now find out more about the university's past than heretofore has been possible, but they will not learn, for instance, whether Alabama was typical of southern developments in higher education or in what ways the Alabama experience differed significantly from that at northern institutions of similar size. Certainly the absence of religious dedication, with its accompanying stress on the souls of undergraduates, had something to do with making Alabama different; as did, of course, the prevalence of violence and gunplay as a rather characteristic aspect of undergraduate life. But these differences are neither explored nor explained. For the social historian, however, there is a suggestive and well-documented chapter on "Secular and Sectarian Opposition," and the account of the university's history as a military college (1861-1902) provides some interesting insights to the problems of collegiate discipline. A history of the University of Alabama that satisfies the requirements of social and intellectual history may some day be written, and if it is, it will surely draw upon the fruitful labors and competent investigations of Professor Sellers. Historians who look forward to a first-class study of American higher education, a history which will avoid the careless and misleading generalizations of Ernest Earnest's recent *Academic Procession*, cannot afford to be impatient; first we must have the kind of sober and trustworthy record which Professor Sellers has provided.

FREDERICK RUDOLPH, *Williams College*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

WAGON ROADS WEST: A STUDY OF FEDERAL ROAD SURVEYS AND CONSTRUCTION IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, 1846-1869. By *W. Turrentine Jackson*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. xv, 422, \$5.00.) Dr. Jackson's book is certainly a contribution to knowledge, and, together with Dr. A. B. Bender's volume, *The March of Empire* (1952), fills a gap which has long been apparent in the history of transportation and communication on the trans-Mississippi frontier between 1846 and 1869. In twenty-two chapters, well written, capably organized, and entertainingly set forth, Dr. Jackson tells the story of the surveying of the principal wagon roads, covering most of the states and territories in the trans-Mississippi West during the period. The narrative is accompanied by twenty maps, in addition to a map on the end covers of the book, which add greatly to the value of the work. Dr. Jackson points out that three federal agencies were mainly responsible for the survey: the Corps of Topographical Engineers of the United States Army, the Office of Explorations and Surveys of the War Department, and the Pacific Wagon Road Office of the Department of the Interior. Courageous officers and enlisted men of the United States Army and equally courageous appointees of the Department of the Interior endured great hardships and loneliness to carry on the great work which was so little appreciated in its day. These hardy men were really linking together the vast spaces of the trans-Mississippi frontier so as to make it possible for the army, future settlers, and railroad builders to occupy a region which many had heretofore considered a "Great American Desert." The activities of the United States Army between the Mexican and Civil wars reveal that it was doing a most useful piece of work in time of peace. Dr. Jackson narrates the facts, and also interprets them, thus providing a well-balanced account of his sub-

ject. Perhaps the fact is not sufficiently emphasized by the author that trappers and frontier traders not only laid the groundwork for the wagon road surveys by their prior travel over most of this frontier but also helped to guide some of the surveys. The main defects in the book, however, in the opinion of the reviewer, are the inadequate use of manuscripts in the War Department Archives of the National Archives and the examination of only six contemporary newspapers. The author has provided a detailed bibliography, extensive footnotes, and an excellent index, as well as ample acknowledgment to those who helped him in his work.

RALPH P. BIEBER, *Washington University*

A BUCKEYE TITAN. By *William E. and Ophia D. Smith*. (Cincinnati, Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1953, pp. 558, \$5.00.) John Hough James, the subject of this volume, began his business career at Cincinnati by assisting in his father's steamboat business but turned to law as a profession and in 1826 accepted an opportunity to practice at Urbana, Ohio. Soon he was drawn into business enterprises with banking and railroad building his primary interests. He was elected to the state senate and became an important figure in Whig party councils. His daring banking operations kept him in hot water and his more speculative ventures had collapsed by 1854, thereby diminishing his financial and political influence. An uncompromising conservative, James rejected the Republican party, became a critic of Lincoln's administration (though supporting the war), and consorted with Democrats in the postwar years. He was an effective speaker and writer, editing a newspaper in his later years. In private life he was kindly, generous, devoted to his family and to the Swedenborgian faith. He was a founder and patron of Urbana University, a New Church institution. But this book is not an orthodox biography. The preface calls it "a panorama of life as it was lived and observed by one Ohio citizen, his friends, and his family, from 1813 to 1870." It is based primarily upon 114 manuscript volumes of correspondence, a diary that spanned sixty years, and other documents from the rich James collection, though much other pertinent source material was consulted. The result is a valuable composite volume containing a wealth of fresh material on such varied subjects as barge and steamboat navigation, western banking, pioneer railroad building, political matters from 1824 to 1870, and the manners, morals, and fashions of refined western society and of eastern centers wherever the James family had contacts. This reviewer caught only one error worth noting: the state election of 1859 is confused with the presidential election of 1860 in Ohio.

EUGENE H. ROSEBOOM, *Ohio State University*

FIFTY MILLION ACRES: CONFLICTS OVER KANSAS LAND POLICY, 1854-1890. By *Paul Wallace Gates*, Cornell University. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1954, pp. xiii, 311, \$4.50.) The political and economic storms which swept Kansas from 1854 to 1896 have traditionally been ascribed to the slavery conflict and the Granger revolt against monopolistic practices, but Dr. Gates's study fully proves there was a third dimension. His 3-D look reveals that United States policies about Kansas land were a major cause of the unrest. Normal federal procedures did not apply to forty-seven per cent of Kansas. The chief variant was reservations for transplanted eastern Indians; the government gradually allotted acreage to individual red men and sold the surplus by privately negotiated sales. It obtained less than a fair value, always because of political pressure and often also because of corruption. The land-speculating purchaser promptly found himself in conflict with squatters, who sometimes were genuine farmers but more often were small-scale speculators. The trespassers occupied the area either through the ignorant belief that the usual federal

land laws applied there or through deliberate defiance of the long-negotiated sale. Although ultimately ousted or forced to buy, their loud, partially justified complaints, lawsuits, political pressures, and even pitched battles contributed much to the state's unrest. An occasional complication was the quarreling between farmers and small speculators as to which had the squatter's rights in certain areas. When the landowner was a railroad company, whether its conduct was reasonable or not the fact engendered ill will, which helped fan the Grangers' anger. So too did those railways with federal land grants who for a time managed to escape all taxes on part of their acreage. Another important irritant was President Buchanan's sudden decision to adopt a "tough" policy toward squatters on the public domain, forcing them to borrow at extortionate rates the funds necessary to purchase from the government. Eventually, after several years of grinding poverty, most of them were foreclosed. Obviously a tremendous amount of research in both federal and local records has gone into this book, even though Dr. Gates points out that he has not exhausted all possibilities. He handles many complicated situations with a sure hand and a condensed, lucid style. He resists the temptation to record so many details that only the extreme specialist will follow him but instead wisely produces a volume short enough to stimulate general American historians. Understandably, having done so much, he does not integrate his discoveries into an analytical history of the state. His excellent book is an important, well-executed contribution to the understanding of American agrarian unrest.

WILLIAM S. GREEVER, *University of Idaho*

PLANTING CORN BELT CULTURE: THE IMPRESS OF THE UPLAND SOUTHERNER AND YANKEE IN THE OLD NORTHWEST. By *Richard Lyle Power*. [Indiana Historical Society Publications, Volume XVII.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1953, pp. xvi, 196, \$2.00.) Professor Power, who almost two decades ago contributed a stimulating article on "Wet Lands and the Hoosier Stereotype" to the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June, 1935), in this volume records his further study of the economic and cultural development of the older Middle West. Much research in sources for the period 1800 to 1860 has entered into his appraisal of the interaction of the Yankee from New England and New York with the Southerner from the upland areas west of the Atlantic coastal plain. This restriction in scope means that the contributions to the Old Northwest of such groups as German and Irish immigrants and settlers from the Middle States are not an essential concern of this study. Primary attention is given to the "Cultural Imperialism of the Yankees," who, although slow in making a decided impression on the Old Northwest, "were determined to refashion the men of the West (and of the nation, for that matter) in the Yankee image" (p. 3). In view of the high literacy of the Yankees and their propensity for letter-writing, their ideas and activities in the region have been especially evident to the historian. Professor Power does not give much attention to New England settlements in the Western Reserve of Ohio but focuses his study on the corn belt to the west and southwest with special emphasis on the thirty years from 1830 to 1860. Yankees commonly asserted their allegedly superior religious and educational standards and criticized the lack of neatness and industry of their southern neighbors. Varying Yankee and southern contributions to folkways, diet, and language are also analyzed, and Professor Power finally concludes: "Whatever the Yankee impact, the Northwest became something new and different and unique in its own right. Neither strain won by subordination of the other, but both were conquered as it were by the region itself, were taken in hand by a process of blending in which the final outcome was neither Yankee nor Southern, but Western."

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER, *Ohio State University*

THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES IN CALIFORNIA OF DON AGUSTÍN JANSSENS, 1834-1856. Edited by *William H. Ellison* and *Francis Price*. (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1953, pp. xi, 165, \$4.00.) The "Vida y Aventuras" herewith published represent the reminiscences of a Mexican California pioneer, Victor Eugene August Janssens. They were collected three quarters of a century ago by Thomas Savage, one of the indefatigable interviewers whose work formed much of the basis for Hubert Howe Bancroft's elaborate histories of the Pacific Coast states. The Janssens narrative is one of the more valuable and well written among these many manuscripts which have long been stored and consulted in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley. For the most part the life-story of this Belgian-born wanderer covers the period of California history from 1834 to 1856. About one fourth of the volume is devoted to Janssens' participation (at the age of eighteen) in the journey and unsuccessful career of the Híjar and Padrés colonization company sent to California in 1834 under the auspices of the Mexican government and at the instigation of Don Juan Bandini and other Californian promoters. Janssens was one of the luckier or more persistent and intelligent of the some 250 colonists who originally left Mexico City on this long and eventful journey. He was at least able to make a fair living in California as a confectioner, merchant, ranchero, and minor local government official. Don Agustín was acquainted, it appears, with nearly all of the political and social leaders of Mexican California, personal references to whom are liberally explained in editorial footnotes. His comments on some of them are not complimentary; but he was clearly anxious to avoid trouble, and evidence of his success in that respect can be seen in his surviving the provincial rebellions and overturns that perplexed so many of the *políticos* of his day. He was equally fortunate in general in his dealings with the acquisitive Anglo-American conquerors of California, being able to retain the bulk of his landed property in spite of some molestations. His reminiscences throw occasional light on Indian warfare and upon the relations of New Mexican traders, lawless forty-niners and resentful Mexican Californians with the more peaceful rancheros in the days following the Yankee conquest. The volume has a few shortcomings, some of which might have been alleviated by explanatory footnotes. As is rather to be expected of a personal account recorded in the subject's later life, the narrative rambles a little, and it is sometimes vague as to the connections and background of events in California history. For example, the causes of the failure of the Mexican colony of 1835 are not made clear. It is true that Bancroft (as the editors note) explains these causes; but explanatory notes on this and on other episodes would have been helpful to the casual reader of this publication. The book is on the whole a handsomely printed sample of the kind of pioneer recollections—priceless today—from which the works of Bancroft were compiled.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS, *Arizona State College*

THE STORY OF MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY: AN OBJECT LESSON IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLIC HIGHER EDUCATION. By *Raphael N. Hamilton*, S.J. (Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1953, pp. xi, 434, \$6.00.) Father Hamilton obviously believes that a university does not live by and for itself. His history of Marquette University is a landscape with the affairs of the university in the foreground; the development of Catholic higher education in the middle distance; and local, national, and world history at the back. This depth of perspective is truly admirable; but the book as a whole is disappointing. The outline of the central figure is obscured by swarming details; the background is too often unrelated to the rest of the picture; and the development of Catholic education is rendered only sketchily. Fuller explanation of significant changes in Jesuit education, to which

Father Hamilton tantalizingly refers, might have held the planes of his picture together. The essential purpose and spirit of Jesuit education appears to have remained staunchly true to Jesuit principles; but the texture of academic life for students and faculty at Marquette University have been enormously altered by conditions and practices which are certainly not uniquely Jesuit or even Catholic. One learns all too little about the Americanization of the Jesuit tradition. What do the Jesuits think about this change, which is nothing less than revolutionary? Is it significant that as late as 1931 the teaching of philosophy remained exclusively in the hands of Jesuits although the lay members of the Marquette faculty outnumbered the Jesuits even in the liberal arts faculty? Father Hamilton's nearly complete silence forces his reader to guess on these points at the risk of falling prey to ancient misunderstandings of the Jesuit order. Finally the book is marred by dubious, sometimes gratuitous, judgments, e.g., President Franklin D. Roosevelt conceded "the best part of Germany including Berlin" to the Russians (p. 362). And has any significant group in the American academic world ever argued seriously that academic freedom is the right to do whatever one pleases if one is a teacher (p. 330)?

RICHARD J. STORR, *University of Chicago*

THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH: A HISTORY OF PUBLIC HEALTH IN MINNESOTA TO 1948. By *Philip D. Jordan*. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1953, pp. xii, 524, \$5.00.) Professor Jordan, in extremely readable style, has presented the history of the development of a health program in Minnesota, revealing the far-reaching impact of a public health department on the physical, business, social, educational, and spiritual life of a community. The community has stretched beyond the state, for basic principles developed in Minnesota have affected the lives of countless millions. Although other persons and organizations played a role in this far-reaching program, the state board of health has been the pivot around which public aspects of health have revolved. Largely owing to the efforts of a single man, Dr. Charles N. Hewitt, the legislature established the Minnesota State Board of Health in 1872. Fortunately its leaders' vision and integrity transcended the ignorance of the public, the politics of the legislature, and at times the backwardness and weaknesses of the medical profession. Under the thirty-three years of leadership by Dr. A. J. Chesley, the state has reached a degree of general health unsurpassed by any other community. The most startling revelations are the great wisdom and vision of Hewitt and the fact it took a half-century to "sell" even a rudimentary program to the physicians, the public, and the legislature. The reader is taken through the advances of public health science from the days of crude control of food and water, shelter, and ventilation to the control of communicable diseases, the virtual extinction of smallpox and typhoid fever, and a phenomenal reduction in tuberculosis. The control of venereal diseases initiated by Irvine and Chesley has been a brilliant accomplishment and has remained a model for others to imitate. The story continues with chapters on public health education and nursing, stream-pollution control, the care of the mother and child, medical institutional care and the beginning of a program for the aged, the mentally afflicted, and those with cancer. The book will make good reading for all who believe that the lessons of the past will usefully serve the planners of the future.

THOMAS BYRD MAGATH, M.D., *Rochester, Minnesota*

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Latin-American History

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GENERAL

THE CARIBBEAN: CONTEMPORARY TRENDS. Edited by *A. Curtis Wilgus*. [Publication of the School of Inter-American Studies, Series One, Volume III.] (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1953, pp. xxvi, 292, \$4.00.) This volume contains twenty-one papers delivered at the third annual conference on the Caribbean held at the University of Florida in December, 1952. They deal with five subjects: economic trends, social trends, literary and artistic trends, political and diplomatic trends, and peace and security trends. The topics are closely related; in fact, the last two might be considered as one. Seven of the twenty-three contributors are from Latin America, one is a British colonial official, and the rest are citizens of the United States. There are more contributors than contributions because two of the papers have joint authors. One of the papers, presented by James B. Childs, is bibliographical, dealing mainly with compilations of treaties and embracing not only the Caribbean countries but southern Latin America as well, and some of the other papers spread beyond the Caribbean area, so that the editor's title is somewhat too narrow. In some respects, however, it is also too broad, since the materials included throw little light on conditions and trends in such countries as Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Colombia. This is not a thorough and integrated survey of the history and civilization of the Caribbean region since independence or even during a more recent period. The emphasis is rather on some contemporary problems in a few of the countries in both the Caribbean sector and in other parts of Latin America. The volume is useful, but it exhibits the defects inherent in the conference approach, which merely offers specialists an opportunity, without notice much in advance, to discuss any subject in which they happen to be interested at the moment. Both the associations and the discussions have their value, but the contributions never cover the subject thoroughly or achieve a satisfactory unity. If the papers seem to be held together by the central theme, this is largely accidental. Such conferences need to be planned two or three years in advance.

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- WINTER, CARL G. *American Influence on Canadian Nationhood*. Washington: Annals of American Research, Public Affairs Press. 1954. Pp. 23. \$1.00.
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- WOLFF, PHILIPPE. *Commerces et marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350-vers 1450)*. Paris: Plon. 1954. Pp. xxxi, 710. 2400 fr.
- WOOD, A. C. *A History of the University College, Nottingham, 1881-1948*. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1953. Pp. x, 181. 15s.
- WOODRUFF, PHILIP. *The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders of Modern India*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. 402. \$5.00.
- WRIGHT, QUINCY. *Problems of Stability and Progress in International Relations*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 378. \$5.00.
- WYMAN, WALKER D., Recorded by. *Nothing but Prairie and Sky: Life on the Dakota Range in the Early Days*. From the Original Notes of BRUCE SIBERTS. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 217. \$3.75.
- YOUNG, KIMBALL. *Isn't One Wife Enough?* New York: Henry Holt. 1954. Pp. xiv, 476. \$6.00.
- ZELLER, GASTON. *Les temps modernes*. Vol. I, *De Christophe Colomb à Cromwell*. Histoire des relations internationales, ed. by PIERRE RENOUVIN, Vol. II. Paris: Hachette. 1953. Pp. 326. 850 fr.

* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

American Historical Association

With the ballot of 1953 each member of the Association received a questionnaire asking if he wished to be continued on the list to receive the *Annual Report*: Vol. I, *Proceedings*, Vol. II, *Writings on American History*. Because the Association's appropriation from the Smithsonian Institution for the *Annual Report* has been reduced by half and is extremely limited, while printing costs have doubled, the Association cannot print as many copies of the *Proceedings* and *Writings* as may be desirable. All members of the Association who asked that they be continued upon or added to the list will receive the *Report*. Others who may not have returned the questionnaire or who have joined since last November may wish to receive it. For this reason the Association has had a limited number of additional copies printed of both the *Proceedings* for 1952 and the *Writings* for 1949 and 1950. If members who wish to receive these as well as later *Reports* will write Association headquarters, they will be added to the list in the order in which the requests are received and as long as copies are available.

Two new bibliographical lists have been added to the "Other Recent Publications" section beginning with this issue. The selected list of articles on Spain and Portugal is compiled by C. J. Bishko of the University of Virginia, that on Eastern Europe by Charles Morley of the Ohio State University. (See pp. 998 and 1011 above.)

Other Historical Activities

The Library of Congress has received from Mrs. Andrew Marshall an extensive supplement to the papers of her grandfather, Benjamin F. Butler, Union soldier, member of Congress, and governor of Massachusetts. Forty-one letter-book volumes contain Butler's own letters from 1875 to 1893, except for the brief interval from October, 1879, to July, 1880. There are also approximately 10,000 letters he received; most of these were written in the 1880's, with more than half in 1884, the year he was a Presidential candidate. The Butler papers given to the Library some years ago are concerned with his Civil War service and his activities in the 1870's.

Papers of Harry A. Garfield, son of President Garfield and for many years president of Williams College, have been received as a gift from his heirs. The material thus far received consists of about 58,000 pieces of correspondence, addresses, diaries, and other matter dating from about 1884 to 1942. Mrs. John P. Comer, a daughter, is temporarily retaining much of the material from 1888 to 1903 for use in preparing a biography of her father. The Library has also

received, by direction of Mr. Abram Garfield, a first shipment of the papers of Dr. Garfield's younger brother, James Rudolph Garfield (1865-1950), who joined Theodore Roosevelt's official family in 1902, when he became a member of the Civil Service Commission, and later served as commissioner of corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor (1903-1907) and as Secretary of the Interior (1907-1909). Each of these collections will supplement the papers of President James Garfield, which have been in the Library for many years.

A small group of papers of George F. Becker (1847-1919) of the U. S. Geological Survey has been received by transfer from that agency, and Mrs. Becker herself has contributed valuable additions to the papers, including a number of personal and family letters. The collection as a whole covers more than 100 years (ca. 1814-1928), although the bulk of material falls within the years 1870-1919.

The first shipments of the papers of Wallace H. White, Jr., congressman (1917-31) and senator (1931-49) from Maine, have come to the Library as a gift from Mrs. White. The papers thus far received relate mainly to Mr. White's service in the House of Representatives. Additional White papers, as they are received, will, it is hoped, document more fully his service in the Senate.

Some 5,000 papers of Jo Davidson, sculptor, have been received as a gift from Mrs. Davidson. A large proportion is composed of Davidson's correspondence, during the second quarter of the twentieth century, with prominent persons on both sides of the Atlantic.

The editors of the projected multivolume History of Parliament now being undertaken at the Institute of Historical Research urge the co-operation of American scholars in unearthing perhaps major finds in the uncatalogued, and frequently unsorted, collections of English manuscript sources in the United States. They write: "A systematic survey of British parliamentary and political papers and family correspondence in the United States, organized on national or local lines, ought not to be impracticable; it is certainly needed. Information and suggestions addressed to the Secretary of the Editorial Board, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London W.C.1, will be cordially welcomed."

The publication of the *Sir William Johnson Papers* by the state of New York is now approaching conclusion. Volume XI appears this year, and Volume XII concludes the second chronological series of documents. Although there will be addenda for documents missed in their proper place, it is hoped that the search for letters of and to Sir William Johnson may be exhaustive. Scholars and librarians are urged to inform the editor, Dr. Milton W. Hamilton, State Education Department, Albany, New York, of any recent acquisitions or discoveries of Sir William Johnson items which may have escaped earlier search.

The Society of American Archivists has inaugurated a project to discover and list source material on labor-management relations in the United States. Its Committee on Labor Union Records published a preliminary report in the January, 1954, issue of the *American Archivist* and plans in time to make an exhaustive check-list, with the co-operation of interested persons and organizations. Federal government labor records are well in hand at the National Archives in Washington. But information is needed about five other categories of labor-relations records: (1) those among state archives, (2) those maintained by private enterprise, (3) those in the hands of research and teaching institutions, (4) those in family or individual hands, and (5) those maintained by unions, city and state councils and federations, the internationals, etc. Anyone who has knowledge of such collections of records is requested to communicate with Paul Lewinson, Chairman, Committee on Labor Union Records, Society of American Archivists, National Archives, Washington 25, D.C.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives a further collection of approximately 75,000 frames of microfilm of documents from the archives of the former German foreign ministry. This collection consists mainly of material on the period from the autumn of 1937 to March, 1939, and includes the files from which the documents published in the first five volumes of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945* were selected. Certain files in addition to those previously released from the period of World War I and earlier are also included.

Northwestern University has recently acquired a collection of French Revolutionary pamphlets from the Dutch bookseller, Martinus Nijhoff. In addition to the 7,300 pamphlets, the collection includes 150 manuscripts. The pamphlets were written and printed between 1787 and 1799. As yet, the collection has not been catalogued, but a preliminary examination indicates that a great many subjects are covered and that perhaps half the pamphlets were written by Revolutionary leaders.

Three more "Preliminary Inventories" (nos. 63, 64, 65) have been issued by the National Archives: *Records of the Special Committee of the Senate to Investigate Air-Mail and Ocean-Mail Contracts, 1933-35*, compiled by Watson G. Caudill, Toussaint L. Prince, and Albert U. Blair; *Records of the Regional Offices of the National Resources Planning Board*, compiled by Virgil E. Baugh; *Records of Certain Committees of the House of Representatives Investigating the Disposal of Surplus Property, 1946-48*, compiled by George P. Perros.

A facsimile edition of all the constitutions of the Republic of Cuba from 1869 to 1952 has recently been published, in a handsome format, by the Academia

de la Historia de Cuba in Havana. The publication was undertaken as part of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Cuban independence.

Several activities of the American Council of Learned Societies in the past two years may not have come to the attention of *Review* readers, and since they are concerned with the problems and interests of historians as well as of other humanists the following résumé of recent developments may be welcome. The Conference of Secretaries of the A.C.L.S. at the annual meeting in January, 1953, was particularly concerned with finding areas in which a number of the constituent societies might profitably co-operate. One problem of mutual importance was teacher recruitment and training, and a conference of the secretaries and additional delegates from the learned societies to discuss this subject was held in Washington in September, 1953. As a result, a Committee on the Relation of Learned Societies to American Education was established to study this field in general, and especially the preparation and certification of teachers for secondary schools, junior colleges, and four-year colleges. The American Historical Association is represented on the committee by Roy F. Nichols and Sidney Painter, and their recommendations will be considered by the newly appointed A.H.A. Committee on Teaching in the Schools. Among the A.C.L.S. activities in research and publications is the program in Oriental languages which has work underway in about twenty Asian languages directed toward the preparation of tools for the study of those languages. This includes three students' dictionaries, Burmese, Korean, and Indonesian; readers in Thai, Burmese, and Turkish; grammars of Pashto and numerous other languages, and several textbooks. The Near Eastern translation program has completed editorial work on the ten titles of its series. Five of these have been published in the past year: *Social Justice in Islam*, by Sayed Kotb; *The Policy of Tomorrow*, by Mirrit Boutros Ghali; *From Here We Start*, by Khālid Muhammad Khālid; *Muhammad 'Abduh*, by Osman Amin; and *Our Beginning in Wisdom*, by Muhammad al-Ghazzālī. The Russian translation project series continues to be active and has recently published the following titles: *Among Arabic Manuscripts*, by I. Ya. Krachkovsky; *Russian Thinkers and Europe*, by V. V. Zenkovskii; and *Russian Music from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*, by V. V. Asaf'ev (Igor' Glebov). The Committee on the History of Religions sponsors two series of publications, "Lectures on the History of Religions," and the "Library of Religion." In the former series, *Religious Trends in Modern China*, by Wing-tsit Chan (Columbia University Press, 1953), has recently appeared. The "Library of Religion" is sponsoring a series of readers of which three have been published by the Liberal Arts Press: *Buddhism: A Religion of Infinite Compassion*, edited by Clarence H. Hamilton (1952); *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism*, edited by Frederick C. Grant (1953); and *Judaism: Postbiblical and Talmudic Period*, edited by Salo W. Baron and Joseph L. Blau (1954). Six additional titles

of this series are in preparation. The A.C.L.S. and the National Science Foundation have collaborated in the first comprehensive publication containing the classifications used by the A.C.L.S. in its National Registration of the Humanities and Social Sciences and the National Scientific Register, *Classifications for Surveys of Highly Trained Personnel*, by J. F. Wellemeyer and associates (1954). The volume is to be used for classifying personal qualification data included on registration schedules. It provides, in addition, detailed "occupational specialty" (subject matter) classifications for all the fields covered, including history. Finally, preliminary work is underway toward the preparation of the second supplementary volume to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, bringing the listings down to December 31, 1940.

The Office of Education of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has recently published a study entitled *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions, 1952-1953* (Circular No. 380). Based on data from 1,364 institutions of higher learning the report shows that during the year 1952-53, 9,576 graduates received bachelor's degrees in history, 1,294 received master's degrees, and 301 completed their doctorate. The last figure includes 280 men and 21 women.

Figures prepared by the American Council of Learned Societies (see J. F. Wellemeyer, Jr., and Pauline A. Lerner, "Higher Education Faculty Requirements in the Humanities and the Social Sciences, 1952-1970," *School and Society*, November 14, 1953, pp. 45-52) show an expected increase in college enrollments of approximately thirty-four per cent by 1960 and one hundred per cent by 1970. This will mean a large and increasing demand for college teachers, a demand also reflecting the fact that by 1970 nearly half the present teaching staff will have reached retirement age. It is estimated that in history alone there will be need for 800 additional teachers in the period 1952-1960, another 1,300-1,500 in 1960-1965, and still another 1,000-1,500 in 1965-70.

The Association of Research Libraries approved in January, 1952, a program for making available, promptly and inexpensively, all doctoral dissertations currently accepted by colleges and universities in this country. About fifty institutions are now publishing all or part of their dissertations in co-operation with this plan, and it is hoped that all institutions granting doctorate degrees will soon participate. Institutions interested in joining this plan, or in borrowing dissertations already obtainable under it, may write to University Microfilms, 313 N. First St., Ann Arbor, Michigan.

A new effort to provide publication for scholarly works of limited commercial value is announced by the advisory board of the "International Scholars

Forum." This series is to be published by Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague, who is prepared to publish an edition of as few as 500 copies. The advisory board, made up of six American scholars in various fields, will evaluate the manuscripts submitted, while the publisher reserves the right of final decision. Authors who wish further information may apply to the Librarian of the Honnold Library, Claremont, California.

In the January, 1954, issue of the *Review* (p. 500) are listed the titles of reports to be prepared for the International Historical Congress at Rome in 1955. Names of some participants have now been received. Those from the United States include: Helen M. Cam, Harvard (Assemblies of Estates and Parliaments: Origin and Development); Ralph Turner, Yale (The Problem of the Frontier); Arthur P. Whitaker, Pennsylvania (The Position of Research in Spanish Colonial History); Kent R. Greenfield, Department of the Army (The Bond between War and Politics from Clausewitz to the Present); Gaines Post, Wisconsin (Paleography and Diplomatics); Robert S. Lopez, Yale (Relations between Orient and Occident in the High Middle Ages); William L. Langer, Harvard (The Historian and Contemporary History); Robert R. Palmer, Princeton (The Problem of the Atlantic from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries); John K. Fairbank, Harvard (The Impact of Science and Technology on Oriental and Far Eastern Culture).

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its forty-seventh annual meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, April 22-24. There were twenty-seven sessions offering papers and discussions on a variety of subjects in American history and international relations. At the annual dinner Fred A. Shannon of the University of Illinois delivered his presidential address on "Culture and Agriculture in America." Officers for 1954 are Walter P. Webb, University of Texas, president; E. C. Kirkland, Bowdoin College, vice-president; and James C. Olson, Nebraska Historical Society, secretary-treasurer.

On April 2 the second of a series of regional meetings was held, at Columbia University, to honor the seven-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Collège de Sorbonne (see account of first meeting, *AHR*, October, 1953, p. 260). Dr. Charles R. D. Miller, executive secretary of the Mediaeval Academy of America and editor of *Speculum*, presided as chairman. In an opening address of welcome, Dr. John A. Krout, vice-president and provost of Columbia University, linked the Septicentennial of the founding of the Sorbonne with Columbia University's Bicentennial and called attention to the significant theme of "Man's Right to Knowledge, the Free Use Thereof, and Freedom of Inquiry." The international character of the Paris university association reflected in the Collège de Sorbonne from its foundation was emphasized by Professor Pearl Kibre of

Hunter College, in her address on "The Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of Sorbonne Scholars in the Thirteenth Century." In the closing address of the meeting, Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University, discussed the "Censorship by the Sorbonne of Science and Superstition in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century."

The Renaissance Society of America, which its founders hope will bring together on a new principle all those scholars and patrons interested in the many aspects of Renaissance civilization, was officially organized on January 30, at Columbia University, by representatives of leading American libraries, learned societies, and universities, with membership at about one thousand. According to Professor John H. Randall, Jr., of Columbia University, president of the new society, the purpose is to unite the various fields of learning in order to study the Renaissance as a whole, thus rejoining art, history, literature, music, philosophy, religion, science, and all the other subjects now usually investigated separately. Interested persons may write the executive secretary, Professor Josephine Waters Bennett, 200 East 66th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

The Northeastern Council for Latin American and Inter-American Studies has been established to promote research and teaching in those fields. The officers of the Council are Arthur P. Whitaker (University of Pennsylvania), president; Preston E. James (Syracuse University), first vice-president; Herbert Dorn (University of Delaware), second vice-president; Philip Sheinwold (Brooklyn College), secretary-treasurer. The council sponsors in the northeast region an Inter-University Seminar for Latin American Studies, the first meeting of which was held at Princeton University, January 30, 1954, at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. Future seminar sessions will be held three times a year at leading universities in this region. Harry Bernstein (Brooklyn College) is executive secretary of the seminar.

Radcliffe College and the department of history at Harvard University are currently offering for the first time an intensive eight-week summer institute on archival and historical procedures. The course, which is open to both men and women college graduates, is designed to meet the growing demand for historically trained archivists and administrators. Specific courses include the study of government archives, historical manuscripts, business records, audio-visual and museum materials, historic restoration, and administration of historical institutions.

Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, held a Medieval Festival April 4-8, in which the departments of history, art, drama, English, classics, and music participated. Among the lectures were: "Medieval Architecture and Its Phil-

osophical Presuppositions" (Charles Brooks); "Some Ideas on the Origin of Representation in England" (William Raney); "Some Non-Representative Aspects of Rulership" (William Chaney); "Medieval into Renaissance" (Craig R. Thompson); "This World and the Middle Ages" (William Chaney).

Southern California area chapters of Phi Alpha Theta, national honor society in history, have been holding regional meetings for the past several years. On March 19 they had their largest meeting so far: fifteen papers in five sections, the chairmen of the sections being faculty members and the other participants graduate or undergraduate students. They hope the success of their meeting may encourage other regions to provide similar opportunities for young scholars.

The Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano will hold its thirty-third congress September 20-23 at Messina. The general theme of the congress will be "The Religious Problem of the Risorgimento."

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellows for 1954 include the following scholars in history and related fields: Oscar Handlin, Harvard University, Influence of the continuing settlement of the United States upon social and cultural institutions; John Francis McDermott, Washington University, Artists' representations of the Middle West, 1790-1860; Carl P. Russell, National Park Service, Yosemite Park, California, History of the American West; Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University, Life and times of John Quincy Adams; Carl J. Bode, University of Maryland, Mid-nineteenth-century American culture; Lloyd A. Brown, Baltimore, Maryland, History of the mapping of America; Fritiof Melvin Fryxell, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois, History of American geology and Western exploration; Hallam Leonard Movius, Jr., Harvard University, Origin and development of Upper Palaeolithic culture; Ann Louise Perkins, Yale University, Archaeological history of Mesopotamia; Herbert Edgar Wright, Jr., University of Minnesota, Physical and climatic settings of the early cultures of Iraq; Robert Friedmann, Western Michigan College of Education, Anabaptist church history; Henry Snyder Gehman, Princeton Theological Seminary, History of religious thought; Rondo E. Cameron, University of Wisconsin, French economic history; Alexander Gerschenkron, Harvard University, History of the industrial development of Europe; John Shelton Curtiss, Duke University, The Russian Army under Nicholas I, 1825-55; Arthur Layton Funk, University of Florida, The French Committee of National Liberation; Louis Gottschalk, University of Chicago, Lafayette in the French Revolution, 1789-92; Hajo Holborn, Yale University, History of Germany since 1500; Margaret Atwood Judson, New Jersey College for Women, History of thought in England, 1640-60; Russell A. Kirk, East Lansing, Michigan, Recent changes in traditional British society; Arthur J. May, University of Rochester, History of the Habs-

burg Monarchy, 1914-20; Bertus Harry Wabeke, Department of State, Dutch propaganda in the United States, 1940-45; Bertram D. Wolfe, New York City, The problem of power in the history of the Russian Revolution; Cora Elizabeth Lutz, Wilson College, Education in the Middle Ages; Bryce D. Lyon, Harvard University, Administrative institutions of medieval western Europe; Berthe Marie Marti, Bryn Mawr College, Mediaeval interpretations of the Roman Stoic writers; Robert Armstrong Pratt, University of North Carolina, The development of moral ideas in the Middle Ages; Craig R. Thompson, Lawrence College, The writings of Erasmus; Milton V. Anastos, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Harvard University, Intellectual history of the age of the Emperor Justinian I; Truesdell S. Brown, University of California, Los Angeles, Hellenistic historiography; Virginia Grace, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Trade in the ancient Mediterranean; Evelyn B. Harrison, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Ancient Greek stone sculpture; J. A. O. Larsen, University of Chicago, History of the Greek federal states; Henry Lumpkin, U.S. Naval Academy, Ancient Greek naval power; Ben E. Perry, University of Illinois, Ancient Greek and Roman fables; Arthur W. Hummel, Library of Congress, Chinese history and culture; Carl E. Schorske, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, The emergence of characteristic twentieth-century modes of thought in the period 1890-1914; Rev. Edward Surtz, Loyola University, Chicago, The intellectual milieu of Thomas More's *Utopia*; Peter R. Viereck, Mount Holyoke College, Intellectual history of nineteenth-century England; Charles C. Gillispie, Princeton University, History of French science; Karl W. Deutsch, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Development of the idea of political community in Switzerland.

Among the awards announced by the Social Science Research Council for 1954 are the following: *Faculty Research Fellowship*: John A. Garraty, Michigan State College, for experiments in the use of psychological techniques, particularly the content analysis of personal documents, in the study of history and biography. *Grants-in-aid*: Kenneth O. Bjork, St. Olaf College, for research on Norwegian migration to the American Pacific Coast; Joseph A. Boromé, the City College, New York, for research in England and France on a history of the island of Dominica (British West Indies) from its discovery by Columbus in 1493 to the present day; Charles C. Cumberland, Rutgers University, for research in Mexico and the United States on the Mexican Revolution: development of revolutionary concepts, 1913-23; Edwin Adams Davis, Louisiana State University, for research in Mexico on the history of the City of Mexico; James A. Field, Jr., Swarthmore College, for research on nineteenth-century American activity in the Mediterranean and Near East; Grace Fox, Goucher College, for research in England on Anglo-Japanese relations, 1834-1902; Norman A. Graebner, Iowa State College, for a political and economic analysis of the period

of the James K. Polk presidency; Mark D. Hirsch, High School of Music and Art, New York, for a political history of New York City since the Civil War: from Tweed to LaGuardia; Frank W. Klingberg, University of North Carolina, for a study of the mind of the Southern Unionist; Bryce D. Lyon, Harvard University, for a comparative study in France, England, and the Low Countries of the administrative institutions of medieval eastern Europe; Samuel C. McCulloch, Rutgers University, for research in Australia on the history of eastern Australia, 1835-50; Howard H. Quint, University of South Carolina, for a study of the career and social thought of Gaylord Wilshire, reformer, publisher, city planner; Paul F. Sharp, Iowa State College, for research on the Whoop-Up Country: a study in Canadian-American regionalism, 1865-85; James W. Silver, University of Mississippi, for research on public opinion in the Confederacy; M. Marion Spector, New York, for research on the career of William Knox, Tory pamphleteer and bureaucrat, during the French Revolution; Alice R. Stewart, University of Maine, for research in Canada and England on Canadian-imperial relations, 1891-1914; George V. Taylor, University of North Carolina, for research in France on political activities of French businessmen and business groups during the French Revolution, 1789-95; S. Y. Teng, Indiana University, for research in England, France, Germany, and Holland on the diplomatic relations between the Taiping Rebellion and Western powers, 1851-64. *Research Training Fellowships* to Ph.D. candidates: Richard H. Bliss, Cornell University; Stanley M. Elkins, Columbia University; Eric L. McKittrick, Columbia University; Arnold Schrier, Northwestern University.

Each year the Henry E. Huntington Library offers a limited number of fellowships and grants-in-aid to enable mature scholars to bring significant research to completion. For the year beginning July 1, 1954, the Library has awarded the following grants-in-aid to historians: Frank W. Klingberg, University of North Carolina, a study of the "Mind of the Southern Unionist"; Robert G. Schafer, California Institute of Technology, study of the political influence of the first duke of Chandos as a borough patron; David Spring, Johns Hopkins University, to study the Stowe manuscripts for a book, "Landed Wealth: A Study of Aristocracy in England 1830-80"; Clarence Ver Steeg, Northwestern University, History of the South series, "The Southern Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, 1689-1763." Recipients of Huntington-Rockefeller grants are: John E. Baur, University of California, Los Angeles, the health rush to California, 1870-1900; Edwin R. Bingham, University of Oregon, a biography of Charles Erskine Scott Wood; Robert Hine, University of California, Riverside, biography of Edward Richard and Benjamin Kern. Applications for fellowships and grants-in-aid for 1955 must be received not later than December 31, 1954, and should be addressed to the Chairman of the Fellowship Committee, Huntington Library, San Marino 9, California,

Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota, has been awarded a research grant by the Louis W. and Maud Hill Family Foundation of St. Paul to enable Carlton C. Qualey, professor of history and chairman of the division of political and social science, to conduct research on European migration to the United States since 1815.

The 1954 Pulitzer Prize for history went to Bruce Catton for his *A Stillness at Appomattox* (Doubleday), the prize for biography to Charles A. Lindbergh for *The Spirit of St. Louis* (Charles Scribner's Sons).

The 1954 annual book prize of the Institute of Early American History and Culture has been awarded to Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University for his *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty* (Harcourt, Brace, 1953). Dr. Rossiter's book also received the Woodrow Wilson Award of the American Political Science Association as the best book published in 1953 relating to "government and democracy."

The Bancroft Prizes, awarded annually by Columbia University "for distinguished writings in American history," went this year to *Seedtime of the Republic*, by Clinton Rossiter (see above), and to *The Undeclared War, 1940-1941: The World Crisis and American Foreign Policy* (Harper and Brothers, 1953) by William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason.

The 1954 Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society was awarded to the Rev. L. Boyle, O.P., for his essay on "The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula." The prize is awarded annually for the best essay on any subject approved by the literary director. Essays submitted for the 1955 competition must be sent in by January 31, 1955. For further information apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.10.

The *Foreign Service Journal* is sponsoring a prize essay contest on the subject of "The Organization of American Representation Abroad." Prizes total \$3,850. Members of the American Historical Association are eligible to enter the contest. The deadline for entries is October 15, 1954. Those desiring further information may write the Contest Committee, *Foreign Service Journal*, 1908 G Street, Washington 6, D.C.

The note on the new edition of the papers of Benjamin Franklin in the April, 1954, issue of the *Review* (p. 822) was incomplete. The cost of gathering and editing the papers is being borne by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University, with the latter's share made possible by a grant from Time, Inc., on behalf of *Life* magazine.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Wilbur R. Jacobs of the Santa Barbara College of the University of California is program chairman for the 1954 annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

Robert Ernst has been promoted to associate professor of history in Adelphi College, Garden City, New York.

Erik J. Friis has been appointed editor of the *American Scandinavian Review*. He has served as acting editor for the past two years.

Clifford P. Westermeier has been elected chairman of the department of history in the University of Arkansas for three years beginning July 1.

Chilton Williamson has been promoted to associate professor of history in Barnard College.

Raymond de Roover, formerly of Wells College, has accepted a professorship at Boston College.

Richard H. Heindel, formerly staff deputy director of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, has succeeded Julian Park as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in the University of Buffalo, effective July 1. Dr. Park will remain at the university as professor of European history and international relations.

Catherine E. Boyd of Carleton College, has received a Fulbright research fellowship for Italy and will be on leave during the academic year 1954-55. She will be affiliated with the University of Rome.

Fred A. Cazel, Jr., has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of Connecticut. David Joravsky has been appointed instructor in history.

At Harvard University Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., retires this summer after fifteen years as Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History and more than thirty years of service on the Harvard faculty. Oscar Handlin, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Myron P. Gilmore have been promoted to professorships in history.

Merrill D. Beal of Idaho State College is teaching in the summer session of the University of Idaho.

Arthur W. Hummel, chief of the Division of Orientalia in the Library of Congress since 1928, retired on March 31.

Fritz T. Epstein, of the Slavic Division of the Library of Congress, is teaching, under a Fulbright grant, during the regular summer term at the University of Bonn.

At North Texas State College Frank H. Gafford, chairman of the department of history, has been appointed dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Jack B. Scroggs has been promoted to associate professor of history, and Weaver K. Eubank, Jr., has been appointed assistant professor.

Earl S. Pomeroy has been promoted to professor of history in the University of Oregon.

William Hugh Moomaw has been appointed instructor in European history at Randolph-Macon College beginning in September, 1954.

Dexter Perkins retired from the University of Rochester in June with the rank of emeritus professor. Dr. Perkins has served on the faculty of the university for thirty-nine years, the last twenty-nine as Watson Professor of History and chairman of the department. Glyndon G. Van Deusen has been named chairman of the department, effective in September.

George W. Adams has resigned as dean of the college and professor of history at Colorado College in order to accept appointment as European director of the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies. He took up his new duties on June 15.

William S. Greever of the University of Idaho is teaching in the summer session of the University of Southern California.

At Stanford University Frank Freidel, formerly of the University of Illinois, has joined the staff as associate professor of history, and Don E. Fehrenbacher, formerly of Coe College, has been appointed assistant professor.

Frederick B. Tolles, formerly of the research staff of the Huntington Library, has accepted an appointment at Swarthmore College as Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History and director of the Friends Historical Library, effective July 1.

Thomas P. Hughes has been appointed assistant professor of history in Sweet Briar College.

Fred C. Cole, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in Tulane University, has been appointed to the university's new post of academic vice-president.

Harold Bradley of the Claremont Graduate College has been appointed chairman of the department of history in Vanderbilt University. He will take over his new post in September.

RECENT DEATHS

Friedrich Meinecke, an honorary member of the American Historical Association, died in Berlin-Dahlem on February 6, 1954. Born on October 30, 1862, in the small town of Salzwedel, he grew up after 1871 in the rapidly growing capital of the new Prussian-German empire. Most of his academic training he received at Berlin University. Among his professors, Johann Gustav Droysen and Wilhelm Dilthey left the most important mark on his own historical thinking. In 1887 Meinecke joined the staff of the Prussian State Archive. Its director, Heinrich von Sybel, made him editor of his *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1896. After Sybel's and Treitschke's death, two years later, Meinecke assumed the chief editorship of the foremost organ of German historical scholarship, which he held until 1936, when Nazi pressure forced him to resign. His two-volume biography of Boyen (1896-99) placed Meinecke in the forefront of the younger German historians. He was appointed professor in Strasbourg in 1901, moving to Freiburg five years later. In the fall of 1914, he took over Ranke's chair in Berlin. In spite of a speech defect, Meinecke was an impressive academic lecturer and his seminar gained a reputation beyond Germany.

The years in southern Germany saw the ripening of Meinecke's historical conceptions. His *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* (1907) not only opened new vistas of modern German history but also added a new dimension to the study of history in general by the novel combination of political and intellectual history. In it Meinecke also revealed his lasting philosophical concern about the conflict between power and ideas in history. Although he recognized that the growth of modern German *Realpolitik* had harmed the older idealistic aspirations of Germany, he saw at that time no rupture in the development from Goethe to Bismarck that could not be healed by moderate reforms. The experiences of World War I shook this confidence and the impressions of war and postwar international events made him view the tension between *cratos* and *ethos* as the tragic dilemma of human history. His *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (1923), a masterly history of the antinomy of political and private ethics, contained his answers. But the new historical situation had made the value of historical study itself doubtful, and Meinecke's main effort in subsequent years was bent upon a deeper understanding of the sources and aims of history. His major contribution was *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (1936).

Not without great inner reluctance he became in 1918 a democrat and gave

his best to convince his countrymen to accept the new republican order. He became a professor emeritus in 1928 but went into full retirement only with the advent of the Third Empire. In 1945, he addressed himself to the Germans again in his final interpretation of modern German history, *Die deutsche Katastrophe* (American ed. by S. B. Fay, 1950). He also resumed seminar teaching at the University of Berlin. But the growing Sovietization of Humboldt's foundation made him the leader in the creation of the Free University in West Berlin, of which he became the first rector and, until his death, honorary rector. (A full bibliography of his writings and the writings on him is contained in *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 174, pp. 503-23.)

Philippe Sagnac, distinguished French historian, died in February, 1954, after a long illness. Born in 1868, educated at the Ecole Normale and the Sorbonne, he started teaching in Lille. During World War I, he taught modern history at the University of Bordeaux, but returned to the University of Lille, 1919-1923. He became professor of the history of the French Revolution at the Sorbonne in 1923, from which he retired in 1937. He was president of the Centre d'études de la Révolution française established at the Sorbonne in 1932, and an editor of the historical series "Peuples et Civilisations." The Centre, under the direction of Sagnac and Mirkine-Guetzévitch, continued the publication of the review, *La Révolution française*, started by Aulard, and also sponsored a series of monographs under the title *Cahiers d'histoire de la Révolution française*.

Sagnac first won a reputation for his scholarship in 1898 by his volume *La législation civile de la Révolution française*. In 1908 appeared his *Louis XIV* and in 1909, *La chute de la Royauté*. In 1917, he published, *Le Rhin français pendant la Révolution et l'Empire*. In 1930, he collaborated with Georges Lefebvre and Raymond Guyot to publish *La Révolution française*, and in 1935, with A. de Saint-Léger, with whom he had already edited *Les cahiers de Flandre maritime* (1906-1908) on a large volume on Louis XIV. In 1934, he published his own work on *La Révolution de 1789* (2 vols.). In 1936, he wrote with Pierre Muret, *La prépondérance anglaise (1715-1763)*. Since World War II and despite illness, he published two volumes on *La formation de la société française moderne*, Vol. I, *La Société et la monarchie absolue (1661-1715)*, and Vol. II, *La Révolution des idées et des mœurs et le déclin de l'Ancien Régime (1715-1788)*. He also wrote many articles.

Since the last war, he was honorary president of the Société d'histoire moderne, and of the Institut Napoléon. He received prizes from the Académie des sciences morales et politiques, and from the Académie française. On March 3, *Le Monde* wrote of him, "Avec M. Sagnac disparût un des plus grands historiens de la Révolution française."

Charles Sackett Sydnor, chairman of the department of history and dean of the Graduate School, Duke University, since 1952, died of a heart attack at Biloxi,

Mississippi, March 2, at the age of fifty-five. He was filling speaking engagements which were to conclude with the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at Louisiana State University. A native of Georgia, he was a graduate of Hampden-Sydney College, and he received the Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University with a dissertation on the Tudor period of English history. He taught at Hampden-Sydney and the University of Mississippi, where his scholarly interests turned to the history of that state, before going to Duke in 1936. He was named James B. Duke Professor of History in 1953, and four American institutions conferred honorary degrees upon him. In 1950-1951, he held the Harmsworth Professorship in American History at Oxford University.

He gave himself without stint to historical scholarship. He was president of the Southern Historical Association (1939) and of the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association (1950), a member of the council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture and of the advisory committee of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. In addition to numerous articles in historical journals and to sketches in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, he was the author of *Slavery in Mississippi* (1933); *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (1938); *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1818-1848* (1948), and *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (1952). In his recent writings and lectures he was turning more and more to the problems of leadership in American politics. "Charlie" Sydnor, as he was affectionately known to his many friends, was a man of singular modesty, kindly wisdom, and exacting scholarship. He wore the mantle of teacher and scholar with grace and good humor. His unexpected death is a severe loss to the profession and to Duke University.

Leo Francis Stock died suddenly on March 8 at the age of seventy-five. Born in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on July 31, 1878, he took his undergraduate work at Mount Saint Mary's College in Emmitsburg, where he received the A.B. degree in 1896. After an interval of teaching at Pittsburgh College (the present Duquesne University) and McGill Institute, Mobile, in 1910 he joined the staff of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, where he remained for thirty-five years until his retirement in 1945. In 1920 he took his Ph.D. degree at the Catholic University of America, where he also taught American history from 1919 to 1941. In connection with his editorial tasks at the Carnegie Institution, he published five volumes of the *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America* (Washington, 1924-41), a work which revealed careful scholarship and high editorial skill. For eighteen years, 1921-1939, he served as one of the editors of the *Catholic Historical Review*, to which he contributed many articles, edited documents, and book reviews. He was also a frequent contributor to this *Review*. In addition to his duties at the Carnegie Institution and at Catholic University, Dr. Stock found time for con-

siderable editing and writing, including his *List of American Journals Devoted to the Humanistic and Social Sciences* (Washington, 1925), *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches, 1848-1868* (Washington, 1933), and *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches* (Washington, 1945). During his teaching career Dr. Stock directed a score or more of graduate students who will always remember him for a mind that was richly stored with the facts of American history, and a manner that was ever gentle and kindly. His colleagues were united in their testimony of his outstanding qualities, his affability, kindness, integrity, and spirit of co-operation that made him an ideal member of any group enterprise.

Eva Matthews Sanford, professor of history at Sweet Briar College, died March 26, 1954. Miss Sanford studied at Radcliffe College, where she took her A.B. degree in 1916, summa cum laude, with highest final honors in classics. This was followed by the master's degree in 1922 and the doctorate in the next year. An ardent and devoted teacher in the fields of ancient, medieval and modern history, Miss Sanford was for twelve years a member of the faculty of Mather College and of the graduate school of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, before going to Sweet Briar College in 1937. Widely known as an indefatigable scholar who pursued her interest with energy and at the same time with the greatest care and exactitude, she derived the keenest pleasure from her researches into the intellectual and social life of the Middle Ages. She had recently served as section editor for commentaries on Latin authors, 1300-1600, for the *Bibliographical Guide to Mediaeval and Renaissance Commentaries and Translations of Classical Authors*. As a Fulbright scholar in 1950 she searched for medieval manuscripts of commentaries on Juvenal in libraries in Italy and France. She was also a consulting editor for the publication of the series, "Corpus of Roman Law," of which the first volume, published in 1952, contained the Theodosian Code. At the time of her death she was engaged in the translation of Augustine's *De civitate Dei* for the Loeb Classical Library. Miss Sanford was also the author of a distinguished textbook in ancient history, *The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times*, published in 1938 and revised in 1951 in the light of recent archaeological findings.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I have just read with disappointment and some irritation Marie Kimball's review of F. J. and F. W. Klingbergs' *The Correspondence between Henry Stephens Randall and Hugh Blair Grigsby* (*AHR*, January, 1954, p. 450). Your reviewer is entitled to her opinions, but it hardly seems reasonable in discussing a collection of letters to devote, as she does, only one short sentence to the work of the editors, especially when the sentence, "The notes to the text are good," fails so dismally to do justice to the Klingbergs' painstaking work.

I also fail to understand how anyone who has read through this correspondence can conclude, as Mrs. Kimball has: "For dullness and lack of interest it would be difficult to find the equal of these eighty-one letters." In the first place, Randall and Grigsby were important figures in nineteenth-century American historiography—pioneers in the movement for a scientific approach to the subject. Moreover, Randall's life of Jefferson is universally recognized as one of the most important biographies of the whole era. As the Klingbergs point out in their introduction, Mrs. Kimball herself has paid elaborate tribute in her own work on Jefferson to Randall's influence on Jefferson scholarship (*Correspondence*, pp. 14-15). Surely the letters of these men—dealing extensively with every aspect of their profession—cannot be "lacking in interest" to anyone concerned with American history.

As to the "dullness" of the letters, the reader must judge for himself. But is it possible to consider the following typical selection dull? Randall is describing his philosophy as a biographer:

. . . I have recorded the honest convictions of my own mind. Of course then I have not whitewashed *everybody*. I would rather be a dog & bay the moon than write in that sickly, silly, adulatory, mutual-admiration-Society, mutual scratch-back, tickle-me Billy-&-I'll tickle-you-Billy spirit in which most of our American biographies have been written [p. 111].

Michigan State College

JOHN A. GARRATY

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